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A
HISTORY
OF THE
UNIVERSITY
OF THE
PANJAB

BY

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LAHORE :

1933



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The University Quarter, Lahore, from the air.

Key.

- a 3 New Hostel, Government College.
- a 9 Mayo School of Arts.
- a 11 Panjab Public Library.
- b 3 Kacheri.
- c 6 Physics Laboratory, Government College.
- c 7 University Chemical Laboratory.
- c 10 Central Museum.
- d 3 Government College.
- d 4 Chemical Laboratory, Government College.
- d 5 Biological Laboratory, Government College.
- e 8 University Hall.
- f 3 Quadrangle, Government College.
- f 5 Hailey Hall.
- f 6 Senate Hall.
- f-j 1 Corner of Lahore City.
- g 4 Oriental College.
- g 5 Law College.
- g 6 University House.
- g 8 Education Department.
- h 4 Montmorency Hall and Woolner Hostel.
- h 6 University Library.
- j 7 Corner of Patiala Block, King Edward Medical College.
- ac 5-7 Corner of Anarkali Gardens (Gol Bagh)
- ai 8-11 (Diagonally) The Mall.



PREFACE

The history of an Indian university affords little that is interesting in the popular sense, for none of them has yet had time, or acquired the intellectual authority, to become inwoven in the cultural development of the country. The first three Indian Universities were artificial creations of Government, intended primarily to standardise and test by examination the education provided by schools and colleges in their respective provinces. Direct teaching was a later and subsidiary function. They were essentially administrative and examining boards. Their proper function, the advancement of learning, was monopolised by institutions which were neither equipped nor intended, except to a very small extent, for true university work, for most of the students of an Indian college are candidates for the Bachelor's degree in Arts or Science and are attaining a standard of education which in Europe is more fittingly achieved in the higher schools. In consequence, only post-graduate teaching, or at least post-Intermediate teaching for Honours, is at all strictly of university type and standard. That the influence of its Indian prototype has persisted in the University of the Panjab is illustrated by the fact that, in the year of its Jubilee, out of a total number of 28,830 candidates for examination in the Faculties of Arts and Science, only 4,280 appeared in the post-Intermediate examinations.

Panjab University stands fourth in age among the eighteen universities of India, that is, approximately midway between the older and younger institutions, for it is a quarter of a century younger than the three presidency Universities and a third of a century older than the first of the thirteen universities created in India during the twentieth century. It stands midway also in respect of its original aims and functions. From its inception, even as a University College, it sought the direct and active advancement at least of Oriental learning—a very proper aim. It also undertook directly one of those spheres of professional instruction,

namely Law, which have been the traditional care of university teaching, and it also took under its ægis another of those traditional University studies, that is, Medicine. But it has only during the last two decades embraced the higher pursuit of those literary and scientific studies, which is the true criterion of a University.

The chief interest which a study of its development offers to an educationist is its slow, tentative evolution from the artificial form of its Indian prototype towards the conscious achievement of the ideal of which its councillors are becoming steadily more aware. However a University may originate, it grows only by an autogenous process—its cumulative contribution to the advancement of higher learning. If it does not generate and increase this process, it is unworthy of its high estate and is no true University, but merely a collection of secondary and technical schools. Its twin duty, with the advancement of learning, is social. It must assist greatly to train social and political leaders of the community which it exists to serve. While performing these duties, it also produces highly educated citizens; but it is not directly concerned with mass education, which is the proper function of the Department of Public Instruction. It is heartening to observe, therefore, at its Jubilee a perceptible tendency of the University of the Panjab to place its proper duties before those adventitious functions, which have been acquired by it in the past. Every devout well-wisher will hope that in its next phase it will adhere resolutely to the proper obligations of its status and will gradually relegate to more appropriate authorities the activities which hinder its essential work.

The writer of this little history has been admirably assisted in its preparation by Mr. R. R. Sethi, M.A., formerly Research Scholar engaged in collecting and examining its materials, now Assistant in the History Department of the University. Much of the credit but none of the responsibility for this book belongs to him.

The reader of these pages, who will be almost invariably a University man, will realise that their contents have been culled from a large mass of documentary material, which is indicated at the end of this volume. For the guidance of the



curious, precise reference is made to these materials by means of index numbers in the text. It may be worth mentioning that two bullock cart-loads of such documents were obtained from the archives of the Director of Public Instruction and examined by Mr. Sethi and the writer. The University itself possesses few records, especially of its earlier years, and one of the results of our research has been partly to supply this defect. It has been impossible to recover a complete set of the Calendars of the University College, while much other useful and even necessary evidence of that period, 1870—1882, seems either to have been lost or not to have been recorded. We have sought to supply it from contemporary official files, but these are often skeletal.

The writer wishes to acknowledge the courteous assistance of Mr. C. C. Garbett, C.M.G., C.I.E., B.A., I.C.S., formerly Chief Secretary to the Panjab Government, Mr. R. Sanderson, M.A., I.E.S., Director of Public Instruction, Panjab, and Mr. H. L. O. Garrett, M.A., I.E.S., Keeper of the Records of the Panjab Government, in providing access to relevant documents; the present Vice-Chancellor, Dr. A. C. Woolner, C.I.E., M.A., Hon. D. Litt. (Panjab), in giving valuable information derived from his association of over thirty years with the University; and the present Registrar, Mr. Ishwar Das, M.A., LL.B., to whom he has had frequent recourse for materials in his keeping. The writer has drawn occasionally also upon Mr. Garrett's "History of Government College, Lahore," published in 1914 on the occasion of its Jubilee; and more frequently, upon material contained in the Report of the Panjab University Enquiry Committee (1933), to which he himself acted as Secretary. He wishes finally to thank the Officer Commanding the Aircraft Park, Royal Air Force, Lahore Cantonment, for supplying the aerial photograph of the University area, reproduced in this book, and the Officer Commanding, Royal Air Force, India, for permission to reproduce it.

UNIVERSITY HALL, LAHORE,

J. F. BRUCE.

4th December, 1933.



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INTRODUCTION

The beginnings of a modern system of education in the Panjab were made almost immediately after its annexation to British India in 1849. During the first four years the new Province was governed by a Board of Administration, education being placed in the charge of the Judicial Commissioner, Mr. R. Montgomery, afterwards Sir Robert Montgomery, first Lieutenant-Governor of the Province.* In February, 1853, the system of government was changed; Mr. John Lawrence, afterwards Lord Lawrence, was appointed Chief Commissioner. In September, 1854, education was transferred to the charge of the Financial Commissioner, Mr. D. F. McLeod, afterwards Sir Donald McLeod, second Lieutenant-Governor, an active patron of the movement which resulted in the establishment of Panjab University College in 1869. At that period, it may be remarked, the Delhi area was included in the old North-Western Provinces, and was not attached to the Panjab until after the Mutiny, in 1858.

That these vigorous early administrators pressed on resolutely with the work of education is shown by the fact that in 1850 the Board placed before the Government of India the question whether a school partaking of a collegiate character should be established at Lahore or Amritsar. Government decided in favour of the latter city.¹ But there were serious obstacles to such rapid progress, and a decade was yet to elapse before higher modern education was seriously attempted in the Panjab, which is scarcely surprising, when it is remembered that the Sikh Sardars were generally as innocent of letters as the mediæval English barons and the royal accounts of Ranjit Singh were kept by means of a notched stick like the "tally" used in the early Angevin Exchequer in England some seven centuries before.

The language problem presented another difficulty. Persian had been the language of the Court and of public

* Sir John Lawrence was formally appointed Lt. Governor on 1st January, 1859, but occupied the office only until 25th February, when Sir Robert Montgomery succeeded him.

business, but between 1851 and 1854 it was officially replaced by Urdu in the various divisions of the Province, while English was employed in the correspondence of all senior officers of Government.² "Panjabi," it is stated in the Panjab Administration Report of 1851-52, "is now rapidly falling into desuetude. Panjabi as a spoken language is also losing its currency and degenerating into a provincial and rustic dialect, whereas Urdu is becoming familiar to the upper and middle classes."³ So it was prescribed that Persian Urdu with the Persian script was to be taught in schools under Government patronage, as Urdu was "becoming more than *lingua franca*."⁴ "At present," we read in the Administration Report of 1854-56, "English education among Panjabis is little better than a forced exotic, ready to wither under the influence of practical life. The great and immediate object for attainment is the imparting of sound elementary knowledge in the vernacular form."⁵

In 1854 a landmark was established in the history of education in India by the issue of Sir Charles Wood's famous despatch, which produced three striking results, namely, the organisation of a Department of Education in each province, the inauguration of the system of "grant-in-aid" for the regulation and assistance of educational institutions not directly controlled by Government, and the foundation of universities upon the model of that of London in the three Presidency towns—Calcutta, Bombay and Madras. This despatch quite naturally gave a fillip to the development of education in the Panjab, where the first and second of its recommendations were applied, and hopes were stimulated that the third would be realised in the not distant future.

The Department of Public Instruction was established in the Panjab in January, 1856. Mr. E. D. Arnold was appointed Director-General, with an inspection staff consisting of two Inspectors, eleven Deputy Inspectors and seventeen Sub-Deputy-Inspectors.⁶ A cess amounting to one per cent. of the Land Tax was attached to education, and within two years 456 village schools were established from this source, while grants-in-aid were contributed to the support of various approved Mission Schools in the Province.⁷ In the second year of its existence the new system

of primary education was involved in the alarms and excursions of the Mutiny, but it remained throughout singularly unaffected. Indeed, before the end of 1858 nearly 700 new village schools had been established.⁸

The plinth had been laid and Government began to consider the erection of the superstructure. As early as 1858 it was proposed to found a Central College at Lahore, but the scheme was deferred, because there were yet too few students advanced enough to justify it. Between 1855 and 1858, however, Normal Schools for the training of teachers were established at Lahore, Delhi and Rawalpindi.⁹

Meanwhile British India had passed directly under the control of the Crown in 1858, and in April of the following year the first Secretary of State for India, Lord Ellenborough, issued another important despatch on education, which was concerned largely with directions for the further development of Indian universities. Shortly afterwards the first steps were taken to inaugurate higher education in the Panjab. In April, 1861, the Secretary of State, Sir Charles Wood (afterwards Lord Halifax, grandfather of Lord Irwin) approved "the formation of a school of a superior order at Lahore, which would serve as the nucleus of the College sanctioned in 1856."¹⁰ It was a rather curious combination in the same institution of a Chiefs' College and a Government High School, containing separate classes "for the sons of nobles and other persons of distinction," and it seems to have proved successful.¹¹

Another department of higher education was inaugurated about the same time. As early as 1853 an "anatomical school" was established at Mian Mir.¹² In November, 1857, Mr. C. M. Smith, Civil Surgeon, Lahore, proposed its conversion into a medical school, which should give instruction in English and Hindustani, and should train assistant surgeons (a five years' course) and sub-assistant-surgeons (a three years' course).¹³ In a memorandum upon this scheme the Director-General of Education stated that, immediately after the establishment of his department, it had been proposed to create a Central College at Lahore, on the model of Presidency College, Calcutta, embracing three departments, namely, General, Legal and Civil Engineering, and

presumably preparing students for the examinations of Calcutta University. It was not then suggested that a medical department should be included. "I was opposed to establishing the Lahore College," wrote Mr. E. D. Arnold in this memorandum, "till the school system had been developed. The question was mooted about a year ago but the Chief Commissioner wished it to be postponed. The medical branch then, instead of being the last, bids fair to be the first. It can be started without reference to the Lahore Central College, to be amalgamated to that institution hereafter."¹⁴ The Medical College was in fact, opened at Lahore in October, 1860. "The year, 1860-61 will be memorable," states the Panjab Administration Report, "for the opening of the Medical College at Lahore."¹⁵ The same volume records with satisfaction that "four candidates educated in the Panjab were successful in passing the Entrance Examination for the Calcutta University"¹⁶

The Administration Report for the following year, 1862-3, reveals increasing satisfaction in regard to the development of education. "The progress of study has been most conspicuous at the three schools of the first grade (Lahore, Delhi and Amritsar)."¹⁷ Apart from these, the Report of the year 1860-61 had stated that "in the Lahore Circle also there are good missionary schools. That at Lahore, under the able and experienced superintendence of the Reverend Mr. Forman, is considered the best in the Panjab Province."¹⁸

It was now felt that an institution for higher education was definitely required. "The great want of an institution in the Panjab, where matriculated students can pursue their studies in the higher branches of literature, has occupied the attention of the Lieutenant-Governor, and has been represented to the Supreme Government."¹⁹ The necessary sanction was granted in 1863 and in the following year Government Colleges were established at Lahore and Delhi, which prepared students for the examinations of the University of Calcutta.²⁰ Dr. G. W. Leitner, M.A., Ph.D. (Freiburg), formerly Professor of Arabic and Muhammadan Law at King's College, London, was appointed first Principal of Government College, Lahore, and Mr. E. Willmot, B.A., "a gentleman of distinguished attainments at the

University of Cambridge" was made Principal at Delhi.²¹ Thus within fifteen years of the incorporation of the Panjab in British India the Province had been equipped with an educational system embracing some thousands of primary schools, a number of good zillah schools, several institutions for the training of teachers, a Medical College and two Arts colleges—a notable achievement. In addition, a Mission College had been established at Lahore in 1866, which prepared candidates for the F.A. and B.A. Examinations of Calcutta University until 1869, when it was closed. It was re-opened in 1886 as Forman Christian College.

A very pleasing feature of this pioneering phase of modern education in the Panjab was the vigorous development of the education of girls—a project enthusiastically promoted by the first Lieutenant-Governor, Sir Robert Montgomery. At the close of his administration, in 1865, "the number of girls under instruction exceeded 10,000; and one of the last acts of the Lieutenant-Governor was to bestow in Public Darbar suitable rewards upon those who had distinguished themselves in the cause of female education. From that period female education has continued to expand, and at the close of the year, 1866-67, the number of schools was 945; the number of females under instruction 17,174."²²

Official reports reveal that in its early years Government College, Lahore, was not conspicuously successful—a result of which the Principal was fertile in the variety of his explanations. But these were very coldly received by the Lieutenant-Governor, who, we read in the Report on Popular Education in the Panjab and its Dependencies, 1865-66, "regrets that he cannot regard the progress of this Institution as satisfactory. The Principal, His Honour perceives, ascribes the want of success partly to the indefiniteness of Government support, partly to the inadequacy of the College staff, and partly to the unattractive nature of the subjects taught; but the Lieutenant-Governor can hardly accept this explanation as sufficient, when he sees very different results achieved both at the Lahore Mission College and the Government College at Delhi—an institution similarly circumstanced to that over which Dr. Leitner presides; further, His Honour cannot understand how 'in-

definiteness of Government support' can be alleged in regard to an Institution supported entirely from the Revenues of the State, at a cost of Rs. 18,810 per annum; and where every poor student received during the year a scholarship of from Rs. 12 to Rs. 17 per mensem; nor can he consider a Principal, a Professor and an Assistant Professor an inadequate staff for a college of less than twenty students. On the whole, the Lieutenant-Governor is inclined to think that Dr. Leitner's avowed disapproval of the existing system of tuition pursued in Government Colleges and the Calcutta University must have much to do with the unsatisfactory results exhibited; but Dr. Leitner must not allow his private views on education to interfere with the popular discharge of his duties; however commendable may be his zeal for promoting the moral and intellectual advancement of the people, that zeal is misplaced, if it leads him to neglect the primary duties of his office."²³

The rebuke seems to have been earned, for the Educational Report of 1866-67 shows that there were 17 candidates from the Government Colleges for the First Arts Examination, of whom only 4 passed, including only one from Lahore. Each student was costing Government more than Rs. 1,200 per year.²⁴ In a letter from the Government of India to the Panjab Government, dated 28th March, 1866, we read: "The Governor-General-in-Council has learnt with surprise and regret the very unpromising fact disclosed by Captain Fuller, Director of Education, Panjab, that College education is as yet so little appreciated in the Panjab that every student must be paid for his attendance at college and that, if only one-third of the students were, as suggested by the Government of India, to receive scholarships, the remaining two-thirds would infallibly disappear."²⁵

The conditions would appear at first sight to the impartial reader scarcely to promise great success for the proposal on this foundation to erect a University in the Panjab. But in a memorandum upon the subject, written in July, 1868, by Mr. (afterwards Sir) C. U. Aitchison, himself a fine scholar and a splendid supporter of education in the Panjab, he maintained; "I do not admit that the Panjab Colleges

have made less progress for the time they have been in existence than similar institutions elsewhere.”²⁶ After pointing out that in that year four students had graduated from Panjab Colleges, including the Mission College, he proceeded: “In Bengal there are only five affiliated Colleges out of Calcutta that have passed any graduate, and three of these did not pass a single man for ten years.”²⁷

Despite this skirmish with Government, from which he scarcely emerged unscathed, Dr. Leitner was preparing to make battle on a greater scale on behalf of a project which he conceived almost at the outset of his career, namely, to dissociate the Colleges of the Panjab from the University of Calcutta and to secure the establishment of a University at Lahore. He arrived here late in 1864. In the following January he founded and secured widespread support for a propagandist society, the Anjuman-i-Panjab, of which he became Secretary and, indeed, dictator.²⁸ Undeterred by obstacles, such as dearth of students and money, sceptical criticism and conflicting aims, he set forth from paragraph 24 of the Educational Despatch of 1854 to achieve his object. “We shall be ready” says the Despatch, “to sanction the creation of an University of Madras, or in any other part of India, when a sufficient number of institutions exists, from which properly qualified candidates for degrees could be supplied.”²⁹ Within five years half of Dr. Leitner’s object was achieved; though he was compelled to await for another twelve years its complete realisation.

*	<i>College.</i>		<i>Date of affiliation.</i>	<i>First graduate</i>
				<i>passed.</i>
	Dacca	..	1857	1864
	Hooghly	..	1857	1867
	Kishnagar	..	1857	1867
	Berhampur	..	1857	1867
	Patna	..	1862	1868

CHAPTER I

BEGINNINGS

Scarcely had colleges been established in the Panjab for education to the standard of a University degree, than strong dissatisfaction was expressed on account of their attachment to the University of Calcutta. The objection was based not merely upon their distance from that centre—although Lahore is in fact as far from Calcutta as London from Rome—but also upon the unsuitability of the curriculum and methods of that University. Instruction and examinations were required to be conducted exclusively in English. A limited series of text books was prescribed in each course; learning by rote was encouraged; superficial and ill-digested knowledge was the inevitable result; while the students became divorced from their own vernacular tongue and from the culture inherent in the literature of their own classical languages.¹ In short, it was felt that the system left even the successful students suspended between two worlds, deprived of real contact with either, whilst the unsuccessful were in an even more evil plight.

Such was not the isolated opinion of Dr. Leitner; it was generally entertained and was very vigorously expressed in a report, dated 13th December, 1867, by Mr. E. Willmot, Principal of Government College, Delhi. "It has been said" he wrote, "that 'the great bulk of our scholars never attain to more than a superficial knowledge either of English, or of those subjects they study in that language, while the mental training imparted is as a general rule of a purely imitative character, ill-calculated to raise the nation to habits of vigorous or independent thought.' Now, whatever may be said to the contrary, the main cause of this most deplorable fact is to be found in the University of Calcutta. That University, or rather that examining body called a University, is nothing more or less than the Arch-Inspector of Schools of Bengal, the North-West Provinces and the Panjab.... Thus the Education Department is a machine,

of which the Calcutta University is the mainspring..... Calcutta University is an academic solecism. All the subjects of the curriculum from Matriculation to Honours, with the single exception of Mathematics, are such as can be crammed, and there is not a principal or professor (except mathematical) and a headmaster, whose entire work, if he does his duty by his pupils, is not continuous cramming.”²

If we allow for a feeling of provincial jealousy, it is still plain from abundant contemporary evidence that almost everyone associated with the Panjab colleges at that time had strong and reasonable grounds of objection to their affiliation to the University of Calcutta, chiefly because of the narrowness and superficiality of its curricula and the effect which it had of divorcing students from the mental environment of their homes and cultural traditions.

It was for these reasons that Dr. Leitner founded the Anjuman-i-Panjab, a vernacular literary society, on 21st January, 1865. Its objects were declared to be—

- (i) The revival of ancient Oriental learning ;
- (ii) The advancement of popular knowledge through the vernacular ;
- (iii) The promotion of Industry and Commerce ;
- (iv) The discussion of social, literary, scientific and political questions of interest ;
- (v) The association of the learned and influential classes of the Province with the officers of Government.³

It is not recorded that the Anjuman ever seriously pursued the third of its avowed objects, but, under the exhortation of its active secretary, who called public meetings and composed many addresses, the Society established a Free Public Library and Reading Room, compiled a number of treatises and translations in vernacular and classical languages, and established an Oriental School at Lahore during the first year of its existence.⁴ Similar societies were founded at Amritsar, Gurdaspur and Rawalpindi. Genuine interest was apparently evoked in their objects, with which the Lieutenant-Governor, Sir Donald McLeod, cordially sympathised.

On 10th June, 1865, Sir Donald McLeod requested the Director of Public Instruction to collect and submit to him suggestions for the creation and extension of vernacular literature and for transfusing into the languages of the Province the science and literature of the West.⁵ Dr. Leitner leapt to the Lieutenant-Governor's suggestion, summoned a meeting of chiefs, raises, notables and the general public in August, and placed before them a proposal for the institution of an "Oriental University" at Lahore for promoting the study of Oriental languages and learning and the formation of a vernacular literature.⁶ The meeting apparently succumbed completely to his enthusiasm and fluency. Another meeting of raises and notables of Lahore and Amritsar was held on 11th September, at which the Doctor produced a scheme for the organisation of the proposed "Oriental University of Upper India," which as a teaching body was to consist of "the Lahore and Amritsar University College." Lifted on the wings of his rhetoric, he declared, "We shall have, by the establishment of this University, a new era, in which the *complete* results of Science and Learning will be imparted to the *whole* people."⁷

The record of this meeting of 11th September, 1865, closes with the following words, "The Raises, therefore, resolve to submit a copy of this plan to His Honour, the Lieutenant-Governor of the Panjab for his sanction and support, and they hope that His Honour will consider that it points at the most practical, and for its vastness, the most economical manner in which the views of his letter of the 10th of June can be carried into lasting effect."⁸

The movement was actively supported by a number of Englishmen, including particularly Mr. C. U. Aitchison and Mr. Lepel Griffin, while the Governor-General, Sir John Lawrence, had given it his blessing and had promised an annual subscription of Rs. 2,000 so long as he should remain in India.⁹

Dr. Leitner was resolved not to allow this access of enthusiasm to abate. On 27th September he convened a meeting of a European Committee of Support, which was attended by Mr. Brandreth, Commissioner of Lahore, Mr. C. U. Aitchison, Deputy Commissioner, Mr. Alexander, In-

spector of Schools, and Mr. Lepel Griffin, who was appointed Secretary.¹⁰ This meeting expressed its active approval of the proposal to establish an Oriental University and arranged to participate in a meeting of "the Native Gentry," which was held three days later, when they discussed means of obtaining funds and arrangements for placing the scheme before the Lieutenant-Governor and ascertaining the conditions upon which Government would support it. A deputation of the University Committee accordingly waited upon the Lieutenant-Governor on 13th October. He expressed his general approval of the scheme, but was "anxious that it should be very carefully considered, and put forward in a moderate and thoroughly intelligible form, so as to command the approval and assistance of Government, which he would do all in his power to secure."¹²

The raises of Lahore and Amritsar subscribed several thousand rupees towards the execution of the scheme. The Raja of Kapurthala promised a subscription of Rs. 2,000 per year and Sir Donald McLeod Rs. 1,000 per year. Dr. Leitner secured the support of a Committee of Orientalists in Europe and continued indefatigably to draft addresses on behalf of the proposal.¹³

The Lieutenant-Governor consulted Major Nassau Lees, Principal of the Madras College, Calcutta, who advised caution. "You have on the one hand," he wrote, "to care that this College should not become purely Oriental in the sense hitherto attached to this word in India; on the other hand you have to guard against the errors of the English system which is adopted all over this country. The purely Oriental system does not much prevail now, and is rapidly dying out in India. The other system has taught much to the people of India; but, being foreign, it has not taken deep root in the country and has made no lasting impression upon the public mind." Major Lees therefore advised very sympathetic consideration of the proposal, but at the same time conveyed plainly that in his opinion it should mediatise between the traditional system and that which resulted from the acceptance of the Macaulay Minute of 1835, for which Major Lees had little good to say. This latter kind of education, he remarks "has produced a class



Dr. G. W. Leitner, M.A., PH.D., LL.D., D.O.L., Principal,
 Government College, Lahore; Registrar, Panjab
 University College.



Sir Donald McLeod, C.B., K.C.S.I., Lieutenant-Governor
 of the Panjab, 1865—1870.

of persons fit for serving as clerks in public offices and railway stations, but none who possesses true literary merit.”¹⁴

The Lieutenant-Governor replied on 2nd February, 1866, in a long and weighty letter to the signatories of the Address, in which the scheme of an Oriental University was proposed for the approval and support of Government. He deplored the shortcomings of the prevailing system of English education in India, which with a comparatively few striking exceptions, produced a superficial knowledge of English and western learning. He expressed an earnest desire for the production of a vigorous, original and copious vernacular literature, which should not be merely imitative, but racy of the soil of India, and at the same time should absorb and transmit the best elements of western culture and science; and he knew that the effective realisation of this desire would constitute an intensely difficult task. He offered helpful criticism of the practical details of the proposal placed before him and promised his earnest support of its general intention—a promise which he nobly fulfilled.¹⁵

In August of the same year, 1866, Major Lees visited Lahore and submitted a note on the proposed Oriental University, in which he deprecated a too ambitious scheme and advised the founding of a good College, the instruction given in which, while embracing a knowledge of the English language sufficient for all practical purposes, and such an acquaintance with European science as can readily be conveyed through the media of the vernaculars, should be mainly based upon the classical languages and literatures of India.¹⁶ This advice was quite consistent with, if more modest than the proposal of the Anjuman-i-Panjab, or in other words, of Dr. Leitner, but it is interesting to note that the scheme of an Oriental University was shortly afterwards implicitly abandoned by the representatives of the Anjuman, who supported without protest a more practicable proposal which was put forward in March, 1867, by a strong Committee, which made a public appeal for funds in order to realise it. The title of the proposed institution was now altered to “Lahore University.”¹⁷ In his inaugural address on 11th January, 1870, Sir Donald McLeod explained the reasons for the change: “The use of the term ‘Oriental’ did not

commend itself to my judgment, as I deemed it certain that, without a large infusion of European literature and science, . . . the object in view could not possibly be attained, and after some discussion that designation was given up.”¹⁸

Despite the zeal of Dr. Leitner and the various Societies and Committees which he established, as well as the earnest patronage of the Lieutenant-Governor, the movement had not been supported sufficiently to warrant Sir Donald McLeod in officially seeking the authorisation and assistance of the Government of India. It was necessary, he wrote, in a Minute dated 14th March, 1868, to “show that we had at least a reasonable prospect of being able to meet the cost of the proposed institution and to place it on a really sound and efficient basis. I accordingly wanted to see whether a sufficient fund could be collected. But in spite of all efforts, funds were obtained only to an amount altogether inadequate, and of these a large portion was expended on schools before the foundation for a University had been laid.”¹⁹ As late as the Government letter dated 27th May, 1868, the total sum collected amounted to Rs. 98,794. Moreover this sum included munificent gifts of Rs. 62,500 from the Maharaja of Kashmir and Rs. 10,000 from the Raja of Kapurthala, which were made without reference to any appeal, but in response to an explanation given to representatives of the States by the Secretary to Government under instructions from the Lieutenant-Governor. Of the remainder, amounting to Rs. 26,293, the sum of Rs. 7,900 was subscribed by Ruling Chiefs, and Rs. 6,400 by European officials; only about Rs. 12,000 coming from ordinary public donation. Moreover, of the Rs. 26,294 raised by subscription Rs. 12,589 had already been dissipated upon various minor objects, leaving only Rs. 13,705 in hand. Of this balance only Rs. 7,337 represented the contributions of those who originally wished to establish a purely Oriental University.²⁰

In 1867 the movement for the establishment of a University at Lahore received a fresh stimulus. In August “the British India Association of the North-West Provinces” memorialised the Government of India, praying that greater facilities might be afforded for education through the medium of the vernacular languages, and suggesting the establish-

ment of a vernacular University for the North-West Provinces at Delhi.²¹ The Government of India disapproved of the latter proposal, and sent the memorial with their observations for the information of the Lieutenant-Governor of the Panjab. He invited the opinions of the Education Department, certain Government officers and the Anjumans upon the document.²² While awaiting their replies, he called a private meeting of the representatives of the Native Chiefs, inviting their masters to give practical support to the scheme for establishing a University. They stated that their masters would respond liberally, if a guarantee were given that the fund would be devoted solely to the purpose for which it had been subscribed, and that they had hitherto refrained from subscribing because of the lack of such a guarantee.²³ Shortly afterwards the Maharaja of Kashmir and the Raja of Kapurthala subscribed Rs. 62,500* and Rs. 10,000 respectively. The Maharaja of Patiala invested Rs. 50,000 in a trust account for the purpose and the Rajas of Jhind and Nabha each placed Rs. 11,000 in similar accounts. These sums were not paid over until the Panjab University College was actually established.²⁴

Meanwhile the Lieutenant-Governor had received opinions on the communication of the Government of India from all those who had been consulted, except the Anjuman of Lahore. He then called a public meeting at Lahore on 12th March, 1868, to explain the proposals which he should put before the Government of India, and to obtain opinion and support.²⁵ Six days later the Lahore Anjuman replied, expressing complete concurrence with the proposals of the European Committee, which had appealed for financial support in March, 1867, and disapproving the proposal of the British India Association of the North-West Provinces as too one-sided.²⁶

At the meeting over which Sir Donald McLeod presided on 12th March, resolutions were passed that a University of the Panjab should be established at Lahore, that it should be a teaching as well as an examining University, employing the professorial system, and taking up the teaching from the point at which the Government Colleges leave off.²⁷

* One lakh of Srinagar rupees exchanged at the above rate,

The Lieutenant-Governor learned that these resolutions had been misunderstood by some persons to imply the possibility of a purely Oriental University. Two days later he therefore drafted a memorandum to dispel this false impression,²⁸ and at a meeting held on 23rd March his memorandum was fully endorsed.²⁹ The principal resolution passed was to the effect that "while the highest honours of the University be reserved for those who attain the highest form of education, which, it is admitted, can only at present be attained by those possessing a thorough knowledge of English, the University shall also recognise and honour literary merit and learning in the case of those unacquainted with the English language."³⁰

A draft of the proposed letter to the Government of India was submitted to a large and thoroughly representative public meeting held at Lahore on 25th May, 1868. The Lieutenant-Governor presided and the meeting was attended by representatives of several of the Panjab Chiefs and a large majority of those who were later gazetted as founders of Panjab University College. The draft was accepted, subject to certain amendments, the chief of which were :

- (i) "that inasmuch as the funds at the disposal of the University would not at present suffice to defray the cost of a Collegiate Department, power should be given to the Governing Body of the University to expend funds in increasing the resources of the Government Colleges, provided the system of those colleges was modified so as to harmonise with the principles of the University ;
- (ii) "that a clause be added that provision be made for duly recognising and honouring proficiency in English, though uncombined with proficiency in Arabic and Sanskrit."³¹

The letter, No. 235, dated 27th May, 1868, which embodied the amended draft, contains the definite and generally accepted principles upon which the establishment of a University of the Panjab was proposed to the Government of India.³² All previous statements had been partial and tentative and were superseded by this document. It expressed the unanimous views and wishes of the founders and

original donors and became the basis of all subsequent discussion of the scheme.

This letter stated that "the system of the Calcutta University was not adapted to the educational requirements of the Panjab, inasmuch as it did not give a sufficiently prominent position to Oriental studies, regarded English too exclusively as the channel through which instruction must be conveyed, and prescribed a mode of examination which was calculated, in their opinion, to raise superficial rather than sound scholars; that the Governing Body of that University had recently, through its Vice-Chancellor, expressed unwillingness to modify its system so as to meet the wishes of the native community and educational officers of this Province.... If Government would approve a separate University for the Panjab and sanction an annual grant-in-aid of Rs. 21,000, it was proposed (with general concurrence) that the plan and constitution of the University should be as set forth in the letter."

The special objects of the proposed University were "to afford encouragement to the enlightened study of Oriental languages and literatures, the improvement and extension of the vernacular literature of the Panjab and its Dependencies, and the diffusion of western knowledge through the medium of the vernaculars." It was proposed to attain these objects by (a) the establishment of Fellowships and Scholarships; (b) the bestowal of rewards for good vernacular translations and compilations and for original treatises in Oriental languages; and (c) "the establishment of a Collegiate Department in connection with the University, or the grant of pecuniary assistance to other colleges conducted on a system conformable with the principles of the University."

The relation between the Oriental and European sides was proposed in the following terms:

(a) "It shall be provided that the examinations shall be conducted and instruction conveyed *as far as possible* in and through the vernacular;

(b) Proficiency in Arabic or Sanskrit, or such other Oriental language as may be prescribed by the Governing

Body, combined with a thorough acquaintance with English, shall be a necessary condition for obtaining the *highest* honours of the University, but provision shall be made for duly recognising and honouring proficiency in literature and science in the case of those *unacquainted with English*, provided that such attainments are combined with a fair acquaintance with the more important subjects of European education, such as History, Geography, etc., so far as such acquaintance is obtainable through the medium of the vernacular; and for duly recognising and honouring proficiency in English unaccompanied by a knowledge of Arabic or Sanskrit.”³³

It will be observed that the founders of the University of the Panjab clearly contemplated the establishment of an Anglo-Oriental institution, of which naturally the first object should be to develop the literature of the classical and modern languages of northern India, and the next object should be to convey a knowledge of essential European learning and science through the languages of the people so far as that should be possible while preserving a standard of attainment which should ensure its recognition as a true university. We would offer a criticism not of these aims, which are admirable, but of the entire absence of any practical suggestion of adequate means to supply the defects of the Calcutta system, and also of the puny financial foundation on which they proposed to erect a complex, difficult and expensive system of the highest standard of education.

The Governor-General, Lord Lawrence, submitted the proposal of the Panjab Government to the members of his Council and other experts for consideration and received from them valuable practical criticism. Mr. A. Howell (Government of the Panjab) administered a cold bath to the scheme. “Surely,” he wrote, “it is premature to establish the costly and elaborate machinery of a University to confer degrees, when as yet no student in the province has come up to the degree standard.... Even if the eagerness and enthusiasm of the people of the Panjab be granted, the necessity of a University ought rather to be shown by there being a sufficient number of students qualified to take advantage of it.”³⁴ Mr. C. U. Aitchison,

Secretary to the Government of the Panjab, exposed the dilemma involved in Mr. Howell's note, pointing out that no student could be brought to the degree standard except by a university, and that the Calcutta system made no provision for the peculiar needs and difficulties of the Panjab.³⁵

The opinions of Mr. H. S. (afterwards Sir Henry) Maine, Legal Member of the Governor-General's Council, upon such a question demand respect. He defended the Calcutta University system and went on to say that, "if this (Lahore) University be established, it will be compelled to give some new name to its grades, and will not be allowed to put into circulation coin which, for some time to come, will be heavily alloyed, stamped with the same mint-mark as that issued by the Calcutta University." He added : "The fact is, the Lahore University, considered as a teaching institution, must either become a laboratory for the production of Moulvies and Pundits, or else, from its freer use of vernacular instruction, it will ultimately shock native prejudices, far more acutely than the institutions in Bengal, of which the teaching is in English." Finally he recommended that "this scheme, instead of coming before us in so extremely magnificent a form, should have been submitted in the more modest guise of a proposal to improve the machinery for the higher teaching in the Panjab College."³⁶

Mr. (afterwards Sir) John Strachey also recommended that, instead of applying the fund to establish a university which would be merely an examining body, it should be expended on extending and improving the existing Government College at Lahore on the lines suggested by the Panjab Government—a proposal which was ultimately adopted.³⁷

The Government of India replied to the application of the Panjab Government in a letter No. 558, dated the 19th September, 1868, which stated that the general principles upon which the proposal to found a University at Lahore were based, deserved the sympathy and substantial help of the Government of India. It agreed to the development of higher teaching in the Panjab by extending and improving Government College, Lahore, as proposed, with a grant-in-aid of Rs. 21,000 ; but was opposed to the

establishment of a University with powers of examination, and suggested a University for the whole of northern India and the Urdu- and Hindi-speaking districts of the Central Provinces.³⁸

In his reply, dated the 12th November, 1868, the Lieutenant-Governor regretted that the refusal of a University by the Government of India would almost certainly quash the educational movement in the Panjab, which had been supported by leading members of the aristocracy and gentry, who would withdraw their subscriptions. He, therefore earnestly solicited that, though the scheme might be defective, the wishes of the promoters, so far as they had been accepted by the Panjab Government, might be acceded to, with such modifications as might be deemed indispensable.³⁹

After further correspondence the Government of India at last sanctioned the establishment of the proposed institution with certain modifications and conditions,⁴⁰ and this sanction was confirmed by the Secretary of State.⁴¹ The governing body was to be a Senate, which should have power to grant fellowships, scholarships and certificates of proficiency, but not degrees, and the institution was to be called a "University College," to mark the fact that the arrangement was temporary and intended only as a preliminary to the possibility of establishment at some future time of a University in the Panjab. The most important of the conditions on which this sanction was accorded were the following :

(i) "It is understood that the study of English shall not only form one of the most prominent features of the teaching in any of the Colleges or schools which may be connected with the proposed institution, but that both teaching and examination in subjects which cannot with advantage be carried on in the vernacular shall be conducted in English.

(ii) "The Lieutenant-Governor is understood to undertake that, although certain subjects may and will be taught in the vernacular, nothing should be taught which should interfere with instruction in sound principles of mental and physical science, that is to say that

the teaching which is to be afforded through the medium of the vernacular languages shall be free from the patent errors which prevail in ancient and even in modern vernacular literary and scientific works; that, in short, the educational course adopted shall be one calculated as far as possible to give instruction through the medium of the vernacular in European science and according to the modes of European thought; so that, while the Eastern languages shall, as much as possible, be made the medium of instruction, yet such control and supervision will be exercised as shall secure to the students all the advantages of teaching offered by the Indian Universities."⁴²

The Panjab Government communicated this decision to the Director of Public Instruction and to the several Anjumans which had supported the movement.⁴³ Mr. Lepel Griffin, who was then acting, in the absence of Dr. Leitner, as President of the Anjuman-i-Panjab and Secretary to the English and Native University Committees, wrote to the Secretary to the Panjab Government expressing the great regret of these bodies at the refusal of the Government of India to accord the full status of a university to the proposed new institution. While expressing the gratitude of the nobility and gentry of Lahore and Amritsar for the concessions to their request which had been granted, he expressed their acute disappointment that the full scheme was likely to collapse because of this postponement. He wrote that the Maharajas, Rajas, Chiefs and people of the Panjab had subscribed funds for the creation of a University and were unwilling that this money should be applied to any other purpose, however admirable. Finally he respectfully requested the Lieutenant-Governor to obtain for them the concession at least of the name of a University and the power of conferring Oriental degrees and titles of honour.⁴⁴

In his reply, dated 16th July, 1869, to this petition, Sir Donald McLeod expressed his sympathy with the views of these bodies, but stated that it would be disrespectful to remonstrate further against a decision which had been reached by the Governor-General in Council after most

careful consideration. The Government of India was quite unwilling to authorise a project which was entirely new and untried, to raise to the highest dignity among educational institutions a body which was to be constituted on principles differing greatly from those which had been heretofore accepted. The Lieutenant-Governor informed the Anjuman that he had therefore replied to the Government of India, accepting that portion of the scheme which they had approved, provided that the popular element, which he had ever regarded as a most essential part of the scheme, were retained; to which the Government of India had assented. Sir Donald McLeod stated that he intended to employ the Senate as fully as possible in the spirit of the concessions made by the Government of India, and he was convinced that, if it would show by its conduct that its aims were genuine and that it was worthy of confidence, no long time would elapse before further concessions were made and the wishes of the promoters were fully realised.

Meanwhile, wrote the Lieutenant-Governor, the Senate would be free to confer titles such as Pandit and Maulvi; and instruction in English need not be considered essential, provided that the instruction given were of an enlightened character. He hoped that the Anjuman would not press their objections, but would give the proposed institution a fair trial.⁴⁵

Sir Donald McLeod's views, as expressed in this letter to the President of the Anjuman, appear to us now to be very reasonable. The enthusiasts who had pressed so ardently for the immediate establishment of a full-fledged vernacular university for the Panjab had never appreciated the complexity of their proposal, and in any case, even with the financial assistance of princes and chiefs—who presumably appreciated it far less—the sum which they had collected for the purpose of achieving it was very inadequate for the purpose. The Governments both of India and of the Panjab had gone as far as possible to meet their desire by sanctioning and assisting the establishment of an institution which might in time develop into a university such as they envisaged, that is, an Anglo-Oriental institution in which oriental literature and culture and western science and

learning should be developed in the languages of the people to standards, and by methods, which would be equivalent to those of a European University.

The President of the Anjuman-i-Panjab and Secretary of the Native and European University Committees replied promising the whole-hearted support of his organisations for the Lieutenant-Governor's compromise, and stated his confidence that the time was not far distant when the Supreme Government would see fit to fulfil its conditional promise of establishing in the Panjab a university in its complete sense. "I am further desired to say," he concluded, "that (with the conditions guaranteed by the Lieutenant-Governor's letter) the main objects desired by the Anjuman-i-Panjab will have been attained."⁴⁶

During the interval occupied by this correspondence the Government of India had submitted the matter for the consideration of the Secretary of State, the Duke of Argyll, who, in a despatch dated the 5th August, 1869, cordially approved the action of the Government of India, which had authorised "that an institution be provided at Lahore, under some such title as the 'University College,' having power to grant certificates," but not degrees, and he endorsed the promise that "hereafter, if attended with due success, it would be expanded into a University."⁴⁷

The Panjab University College was accordingly established by Notification No. 472, dated 8th December, 1869, with which were published the statutes of the institution. These statutes adhere very closely to the language and intention of the plan embodied in the letter of the Panjab Government, dated 27th May, 1868.* But it is distinctly laid down that the study of English shall form one of the most prominent features of the teaching in all the schools or colleges connected with the institution.

The special objects of the Lahore University College were stated to be:

"(i) To promote the diffusion of European science, as far as possible, through the medium of the vernacular languages of the Panjab; and the improvement and extension of vernacular literature generally;

*See pages 8—10 above.



(ii) To afford encouragement to the enlightened study of Eastern classical languages and literature; and

(iii) to associate the learned and influential classes of the Province with the officers of Government in the promotion and supervision of popular education."

At the same time every encouragement was to be given to the study of the English language and literature, and in all subjects which could not be competently taught in the vernacular, the English language was to be regarded as the medium of instruction and examination.⁴³

CHAPTER II

THE ORIGINS OF ORIENTAL COLLEGE

The movement which had been initiated in 1865 for the establishment of a University in the Panjab, which should provide primarily for Oriental learning by instruction through the vernacular languages of the Province, had resulted at the end of 1869 in the authorisation of a University College at Lahore on the conditions which have been shown at the end of the previous chapter. The first meeting of the Senate of Panjab University College was held on Tuesday, 11th January, 1870, with the Lieutenant-Governor, Sir Donald McLeod, as chairman.¹ Before tracing its history during the twelve years which elapsed until it was elevated to a status equivalent to that of the older Indian Universities, it is necessary to examine its position in relation to Oriental College—a relation which is still improperly understood by various persons in this Province.

The first attempt to establish systematic instruction in Oriental learning and popular knowledge in the vernacular languages of the Panjab was made, as we have seen, by the Anjuman-i-Panjab, which was founded by Dr. Leitner in January, 1865. The earliest record of this attempt is found in the "Report of the Anjuman-i-Panjab, or the Society for the Diffusion of Useful Knowledge," for the year 1865.² The schools established by the Society were elementary and apparently indigenous. A Government grant-in-aid of Rs. 50 per month was sought for them in December, 1865, and sanctioned in January, 1866.³ But when these schools were closed, in June, 1867, they had received no portion of this grant, because, in spite of reiterated requests by the Director of Public Instruction, they had never complied with the rules under which such grants were made. The total cost of these schools during

the two years or so of their existence had been Rs. 814, and the President of the Anjuman, in reporting their closure, in a letter dated 23rd April, 1868, stated that "a grant-in-aid of Rs. 310 has recently been received from Government, to recompense part of the expenditure of the Anjuman, to which it is fairly entitled, as the expenditure it incurred from the beginning was in the sole hope of receiving aid from Government."⁴ This special grant was an act of grace on the part of Government. The first essay was apparently a rather melancholy failure.

Our next information in regard to the movement for the advancement of Oriental learning through the vernaculars is derived from the Report of the Anjuman for the three years, 1866-1868.⁵ We learn that either the Anjuman or the Native Committee for the establishment of a University—which of the two is not quite clear—decided that a College and Madrassa of the proposed University should be set up experimentally for three months from 1st May, 1866, by the appointment of seven teachers—one in Arabic, one in Persian, three in Sanskrit, one in Urdu and one in Hindi. It was decided later to encourage Gurmukhi also. In August of the same year Maulvi Alamdar Hussain, of Government College, and an Anglo-Indian master, Mr. Staines, from one of the Government Schools, were employed to lecture twice a week, the former on Urdu literature, the latter on Physics through the medium of Urdu, to the students of this College. In October 1866, a Hindu School, lately established in Mohalla Wachowali, was taken over by the College at the request of its managers.⁶ Here are the earliest origins of Oriental College, Lahore.

It seems from the "Account Book of the University, Panjab, from May, 1866," that the cost of this college and of a school attached to it, including charitable stipends to students, was being regularly charged—on what authority cannot now be discovered—against the general fund which was being collected for the establishment of a University. In June, 1867, the European Committee of Support discovered and objected to this procedure, considering it improper and inconsistent with the statement of objects and principles of the proposed Lahore University,

which had been circulated in their name, to dissipate the fund on local schools. This Committee therefore resolved at a meeting held on 2nd July, 1867, that, pending the appointment of a Council with full powers to expend the money collected in the name of the University, no sums thus collected should be spent on local schools, except money collected locally or given specifically for that purpose. The University account was transferred to the Bank of Bengal and all cheques upon it were to be signed jointly by the Secretaries of the Native Committee and of the European Committee of Support.⁹

The Anjuman School was closed on 12th July, 1867; the College was still maintained, but the annual expenditure was ordered to be reduced to Rs. 1,664—the amount of the estimated subscriptions of the native gentlemen of Lahore. It survived, however, for less than a year, being closed on 1st June, 1868.¹⁰ On this occasion a resolution was passed by the Anjuman that, as soon as sufficient funds could be raised, Madrassas should be established in connexion with the University, in accordance with its principles and regulations.¹¹ During the two years of their existence the Oriental College and School had obtained from the University Fund Rs. 10,106, while the amount of local subscriptions was estimated at Rs. 1,664 a year—that is, less than one-third of the total.¹²

When the College was closed most of its teachers were absorbed in Government Schools and alternative plans were proposed better to effect its objects,¹³ for it had apparently not been well conducted. In the course of a correspondence between the Director of Public Instruction and Dr. Leitner, the former proposed that the subscriptions of the native gentlemen of Lahore, estimated at Rs. 1,600 a year, together with an equivalent grant-in-aid by Government, should be used, partly to employ certain teachers of the Oriental College to give special instruction at Government College and School, partly to provide scholarships for students of Arabic and Sanskrit at these institutions, on condition that the instruction provided should be conformable to the principles of the proposed University. The Native University Committee shortly afterwards urged

the adoption of this proposal ; but it was stated in the documents later submitted by the Anjuman that “ this proposal to divert the funds was not carried out, owing to Dr. Leitner’s protest.”¹⁴ This can scarcely have been the case, for, on 20th May, 1868, Dr. Leitner wrote to the Director of Public Instruction : “ I fear the Oriental School is not what it should be, and if funds could be devoted to a purpose such as you indicate, in a manner that would not *effaroucher* (frighten) the Raises, I for one should be delighted.”¹⁵ Four days later he expressed his pleasure at the prospect that the Director’s plan would be executed, as the scholarships would add about twenty students to Government College,¹⁶ (which, by the way, at that time depended largely on such stipendiaries for its students !)

The Director’s scheme was not executed. The real reason was not any supposed opposition by Dr. Leitner, but the fact that the project of a University was at the time under the consideration of Government and it was advisable to preserve the whole fund intact in order to obtain the largest possible grant-in-aid from the Government of India. In these circumstances the first attempt to establish an Oriental College proved abortive. We pass to the second, more successful attempt.

The proposals submitted to the Government of India in letter No. 235, dated 27th May, 1868, included “ the establishment of a Collegiate Department in connexion with the University, or making pecuniary grants to other colleges conducted on a system conformable with the principles of the University.”¹⁷ Panjab University College was established by Notification No. 472, dated 8th December, 1869, and its constitution and objects were set forth in the Statutes attached to the Notification. These Statutes included the above provision *verbatim*.¹⁸

At the first meeting of the Senate of the newly established University College an Executive Committee was appointed and was instructed, among other things :

“ 3rd—to consider and report the proportion and amount of annual income which should be expended on the different objects of the institution, *viz.* :



Sir Charles Umpherston Aitchison, K.C.S.I., C.I.E., LL.D.,
 D.O.L., Chancellor, 1882—1887.



Sir William Henry Rattigan, Kt., K.C., LL.D.,
 Vice-Chancellor, 1837—1895.



- (1) examinations,
- (2) fellowships and scholarships,
- (3) rewards for the encouragement of vernacular literature ;
- (4) grants-in-aid to colleges.

“7th—to consider the conditions on which and the purposes for which such grant shall be made.”¹⁹ The Executive Committee reported on 15th March, 1870, in the form of a series of resolutions, which included the following :

“That a large and efficient school for the study of Oriental classics and general knowledge be established at Lahore, at a cost of Rs. 3,600 per annum, to be met out of annual subscriptions, doubled by the grant-in-aid, for adults above sixteen years of age, who had acquired some proficiency in either Arabic or Sanskrit.” It was agreed also that “the Committee appoint a Professor of Sanskrit on Rs. 6,000 per annum to superintend the Oriental School and assist in Government College.”²⁰

In regard to the proportion of annual income to be expended on the various objects, the Committee reported that “there should be nothing in the scheme which might damp the ardour or diminish the sympathies of the native subscribers. It cannot be doubted that the amount of future income will very much depend on the satisfaction which the subscribers feel in the scheme proposed, and if it is seen that a particular branch of work is strongly desired by them, it is, we consider, highly important to make provision accordingly, even though the work itself may not seem equally important to all classes of the supporters of the institution.

“Thus it was found by your Committee that the whole body of native subscribers are very strongly in favour of establishing in connection with the College, a large and efficient Oriental School, in which, however, the Oriental languages should be taught on modern and enlightened principles, and combined with instruction in general knowledge.

“The Committee accordingly passed a Resolution that, in their opinion such a school ought to form part of the first year's establishment. The method of instruction and the class of literature taught could be directed in the right way by the University College in a manner which could not be effected equally well were such tuition struck out of your scheme and left, as heretofore, to the private and undirected efforts of maulvis and pandits.

“It was considered that the best form of assistance was to provide for the increase of the professorial staff in the College. The expenditure on the Oriental School would appropriately be placed under this head, especially as its Superintendent, the Professor of Sanskrit, is expected to assist in either English Literature, or History, or Moral and Mental Science in the Lahore Government College.

“Grants-in-aid should be made by the University College, either to enable existing Colleges to increase their efficiency and teach those subjects which the principles of this institution recommend; or to increase the strength of the Colleges which do already teach according to the University College standards and enable them to have a more efficient teaching staff.” The Committee, however, recommended that “the Government should be earnestly asked not to diminish the support it gives to the existing Government and other educational institutions of the Province on the ground of any grant made to University College.”²¹

In May, 1870, the Senate passed the budget allotments, which included a Professor of Sanskrit, who should also be Superintendent of the Oriental College and should assist in Government College, and provision for the administrative expenses of an Oriental School.²² Dr. Oppert, Assistant Librarian, Windsor, was nominated Professor of Sanskrit.²³ On 4th July, 1870, the Senate resolved that the Oriental School should form the Oriental Department of Government College, Lahore, in the event of Government College and the Zilla School being placed under the direct control of the Senate.²⁴

Neither the appointment of a Professor of Sanskrit nor the proposed transfer of Government College and the Zilla School to the control of the Senate was carried out,

and in the budget for 1871, which was passed by the Senate on 26th December, 1870, provision was made for the expenditure of Rs. 550 per month in the Oriental School, including Rs. 200 per month to be paid to Dr. Trumpp as Superintendent.²⁵

The Oriental School was attended by students who received instruction in Arabic, Sanskrit or Persian, in one of which languages they were required to have made some previous progress. They were also required to study Arithmetic, Algebra, Euclid, the History of India, and Geography.²⁶

So in 1870 were born Panjab University College and Oriental College, Lahore, a pair of precocious but delicate infants, with precarious means of life and uncertain habitation. Indeed, Oriental College may be considered the prodigious offspring of the new-born infant, University College. While neither had a certain home, the foster-parents of Oriental College were striving to usurp the parent's authority, and the parent itself was making efforts to snatch the home of Government College for its first-born!

The institution established by the Senate of Panjab University College was, of course, quite distinct from the College opened experimentally in May, 1866, by the Anjuman, which was closed in 1868; but it was the outcome of the same movement and had the same object, which was, in fact, central to the original proposal of 1865 for the establishment of an Oriental University at Lahore. It was called the Oriental School until March, 1872, when its title was altered to Oriental College, though its function and relation to the University College—and afterwards to the University—remained unaltered.²⁷

It will be most convenient in this chapter to refer to certain questions, which arose later, as to the relation between Oriental College and its parent institution. When Panjab University was established under Act XIX of 1882, an obligation to maintain "an Oriental College, a Law School and such other schools or colleges as the Senate may from time to time direct," was included in Statute IV.²⁸ In 1885 the Senate adopted special rules for the management of Oriental College, defining more precisely its relations

with the University.²⁹ On 13th March, 1885, the Chancellor, Sir Charles Aitchison, who from the outset of the original movement had taken an active interest in the University, prepared a memorandum in order to conclude controversies which had arisen from allegations that the Oriental Department had not received a fair proportion of available funds and that these funds were not applied in accordance with the wishes of the donors. The statements and opinions contained in that memorandum received the general support of a very large majority of the Fellows, including all the Ruling Chiefs—to whose liberality the University was mainly indebted for its funds and endowments—all the representatives of the Chiefs, and a majority of the surviving founders of the University. The rules, as finally amended, were passed almost unanimously at one of the largest meetings of the Senate ever held, on 6th May, 1885.³⁰

The documentary evidence, which is abundant upon this matter, shows that the complaint of a few persons was groundless. On the other hand it shows that a considerable amount of money collected for the establishment of a University had been dissipated between 1865 and 1868 upon an ill-considered and unsatisfactory scheme, which was not related to the project of a University.³¹ Behind the complaint, in fact, lay the desire of a few persons that the University should be merely, or almost entirely, an institution of Oriental learning—a proposal which the great majority of donors and subscribers would never have approved, which the Panjab Government would never have proposed and the Government of India would never have sanctioned.

CHAPTER III

PANJAB UNIVERSITY COLLEGE*

1870—1882

(i) *Its Operations*

The efforts of its promoters, continued for five years, had been rewarded by Notification No. 472, of the Government of India, dated 8th December, 1869, which sanctioned the establishment of a University College at Lahore and published its first statutes. Panjab University College, thus authorised, was to have three special objects, namely :

(i) "To promote the diffusion of European science, as far as possible through, the medium of the vernacular languages of the Panjab and the improvement and extension of vernacular literature generally ;

(ii) "To afford encouragement to the enlightened study of Eastern classical languages and literature ;

(iii) "To associate the learned and influential classes of the Province with the officers of Government in the promotion and supervision of popular education." ¹

The University College was also to perform a threefold function ; it was to be a teaching body, an examining body and a learned society. It was to be governed by a Senate, consisting of the promoters of the Oriental movement, persons eminent for their literary attainments, and *ex-officio* members to be appointed by Government. The Senate was to have power to appoint teachers and to confer fellowships and scholarships. It was to be, with the educational officers of Government, the consulting body in all matters of public instruction, including primary education.²

*In the Notification, dated 8th December, 1869, it was styled "Lahore University College," (Panjab Government Gazette, No. 472, page 1,442). But at the request of the Senate, the Lieutenant-Governor on 27th June, 1870, approved the change of title to "Panjab University College." (Panjab Government Gazette, 1870, No. 335, page 695.).

With such an incomplete and general constitution Panjab University College entered existence on 11th January, 1870, and began immediately to develop the implications of its sanction, so far as its resources permitted.

The Senate, at its first meeting on this date, appointed an Executive Committee (Syndicate) and in the course of that year established the Oriental College, as we have seen in the previous chapter. It also affiliated the Lahore Medical School, which had been established in 1860, and laid down rules for the future conduct of its examinations.³

English and vernacular classes in Law were also instituted in 1870, though the first examination in Law was not held until 1874. In the Educational Report of 1873-74, the Officiating Registrar, Mr. E. W. Parker, wrote: "As yet no examinations in Law have been held by the Panjab University College, but now the examinations for Pleaders and Mukhtars in the Panjab have been made over to the Panjab University College under the new rules issued on the subject by the Chief Court. The first and final examinations in Law will be held by the Panjab University College in November next. Candidates passing the first examination in Law will be admitted as Mukhtars and those who succeed in passing the final examination in Law will be admitted as Pleaders of second (lower) grade, and after 5 years' practice will be admitted as Pleaders of first grade (Chief Court Pleaders)."⁴

In October, 1871, examinations were first held for the award of certificates of Matriculation and of the First Arts Standard, which corresponded, with some modifications, with those of the University of Calcutta, and also for the diplomas of Maulvi, Munshi and Pandit, and in Medicine.⁵

Scholarships, varying in amount from Rs. 8 to Rs. 20 per month, of a total value of Rs. 8,400, were granted by the College during the year 1871-72 to students of the Lahore and Delhi Colleges, who had passed the Entrance and First Arts Examinations at Lahore. Most of the students of Oriental College received stipends; those who had passed the Middle Examination received Rs. 10 per month each; those who had passed the Lower Examination received Rs. 7 per month, and a few others received Rs. 5 per

month. Besides these stipends, prizes of a total value of Rs. 1,250 were awarded to successful candidates in the Oriental Examination in that year.⁶

Various munificent donations had been made to the University College notably by the Maharajas of Kashmir and Patiala, the Raja of Kapurthala, and others, for the endowment of fellowships and scholarships. These enabled the Senate, during the year, 1871-72, to offer for competition the following National Scholarships and Fellowships: the McLeod-Kashmir Sanskrit Fellowship, of Rs. 100 per month; the McLeod-Panjab Fellowship, of Rs. 100 per month; the Jullundur Medical Fellowship, of Rs. 100 per month; the McLeod-Kapurthala Annual Prize of Rs. 1,000, for National Science; and the Patiala Translatorhsip of Rs. 66 per month. A sum of Rs. 1,000 was allotted to provide rewards for authors and compilers, and Rs. 1,730 was provided for printing approved books.⁷

In short, the energy of its first governors, assisted by the beneficence of its founders and endowers, achieved much in this first year of its existence to realise the aims prescribed for the new University College. It had a name, but yet scarcely a local habitation, for its affairs were conducted in a room in Government College, Lahore, and its chief executive officer was Dr. Leitner, Principal of that College. Its teaching was conducted in the two Government Colleges, at Lahore and Delhi, Oriental College and the Law School.

A difficulty of another kind at once arose, which was to continue and to become more vexatious, so long as the power to confer degrees was withheld from Panjab University College. It assisted the two Government Colleges by granting to certain of their students scholarships, which were additional to the number of stipends granted directly by Government. In consequence the numbers of students at these two colleges increased after the establishment of University College, because they were nearly all stipendiaries in those early days of higher education in the Panjab. These scholarships had hitherto been awarded on the results of examinations of Calcutta University, but by the existing rules, students who held such scholarships were required to take the examinations of Panjab University College, and

all future Scholarships were for competition only in these latter examinations.

It was certain that students would be reluctant to present themselves for examination by Panjab University College, rather than by Calcutta University, so long as Panjab lacked the authority to confer degrees. So they were in the unhappy situation, that they needed to compete in the examinations of Calcutta University, if they wished to obtain a degree, and of Panjab University College, if they wished to obtain a scholarship—which for most of them was essential. In that case, moreover, they were required to pay two fees for examination at each grade.

This duplication of examinations was deplorable in all respects. At first the courses of study of Calcutta and Panjab differed, but in 1873 the Panjab curriculum was assimilated to that of Calcutta, although the agitators for a local University had laid special stress upon the unsuitability of the Calcutta system for the Panjab. "The Calcutta University," wrote Mr. J. G. Cordery, the Officiating Director of Public Instruction, in the Panjab Educational Report, 1871-2, "had hitherto required a minute knowledge of certain prescribed text-books; the Panjab University College aimed rather at testing the candidate's general knowledge of the language he takes up, or his knowledge of the subject he professes to have studied."⁸ In any case, the approximation of the two curricula did not remove the pernicious system of dual examinations, each taken for a different practical reason. Mr. C. Pearson, Officiating Principal of Government College, Lahore, complained that "the chief defect of our administration at the present time is a want of steady and continuous work, owing to the unsettled state of our relations to the two Universities and too frequent examinations."⁹ Mr. J. Sime, Principal of Government College, Delhi, similarly regarded "the want of undivided concentration in the work of Calcutta University as quite sufficient to account for the bad appearance of our candidates before that institution."¹⁰

The figures for the examinations in that year were certainly unsatisfactory. Of 21 candidates for the First Arts Examination only four passed, and none in the First

Division ; of 81 candidates for Entrance 33 passed, only four in the First Division.¹¹

While Panjab University College was without the power to confer degrees, it was impossible to overcome this evil, which must have reduced teachers to the exasperating necessity of cramming their students for two parallel but different series of examinations, which occurred at different times of the year and must have well nigh ruined systematic education. But in 1873-4 the Panjab Government and University College attempted to devise a scheme which would reduce, since it could not remove, the evil.¹² It was arranged that in future the following examinations should be held in the Faculty of Arts :

(i) The Entrance Examination which would correspond with that of Calcutta ;

(ii) the Proficiency in Arts Examination, which would be parallel to the First Arts Examination of Calcutta ;

(iii) the Higher Proficiency Examination, which would correspond with the B. A. Examination of Calcutta. A special feature of this series of examinations was that, except in the highest, English was not compulsory.¹³

Panjab University College held its examinations in April—in itself a very suitable time. But the Government of India had refused to allow it to confer degrees and had ordered that courses in the Government Colleges of the Panjab should be adapted to prepare students for the examinations of Calcutta University. It had also ruled that only a certain proportion of the students who had qualified in the Entrance and First Arts Examinations of that University should receive Government Scholarships. At the same time Panjab University College offered scholarships to a certain proportion of the students who passed its examinations. Since a scholarship was absolutely necessary to the great majority of students in order to pursue their work at all, it became practically necessary for the Government Colleges to prepare students for both series of examinations. Worse still : when the First Year Class at these colleges had fairly settled to their work, it was interrupted by the influx of new men, who had been enabled to join because they had just won scholar-

ships at the Panjab University College Entrance Examination. Even the assimilation of the two courses of study did not remove this evil; so it was arranged that the two series of examinations should be held about same time.¹⁴

It was impossible to overcome all the difficulties of this dual system. In 1873-4 Mr. W. T. Lindsay, Officiating Principal of Government College, Lahore, (which apparently experienced at this time a series of rapid changes of control) complained, very reasonably, that the revised scheme of Panjab University College examinations would entail much additional labour upon his staff, since the standard required in those examinations was higher in each subject than that of Calcutta, though fewer subjects were required. As students were allowed a choice of subjects, the higher standard had to be maintained in all.¹⁵

In the previous year, 1872-3, Mr. Lindsay had been provoked by the perplexities of his duty to recommend the complete separation of Government College from Panjab University College. Since his argument illustrates an attitude and a problem, which to-day still present difficulty in the University, his fulmination deserves to be recorded at some length. "The Panjab University College not being a Government institution," he wrote, "(but merely one of many supported by a grant-in-aid), nor even designed to carry out the Imperial Educational policy, it is difficult to understand why its examinations (any more than those of any other grant-in-aid institutions) should ever have been permitted to interfere with the work which the Government College was established to carry on in combination with the Calcutta University only, and which I conceive it is the duty of Government servants both to perform loyally and to allow no other work to interfere with, however great personal interest they feel for such other work. . . I am not aware of any Government sanction for the abnormal and unsatisfactory connection of the Government College with a grant-in-aid institution like the Panjab University College—a connection which appears to me to have been effected with greater regard to the wishes of those who desire to establish a local University than to the policy of the Supreme Government with respect to the College.

“This policy, as defined in Despatches No. 49, dated 19th July, 1854,* para. 62, and No. 4, dated 7th April, 1859, para. 46, contemplates the perfectly separate and independent existence of all Government and State-aided institutions, with a view to the eventual closing of the former, when the latter can be safely entrusted with the exclusive work of education; but it must be obviously impossible to carry out this policy, if aided institutions are allowed, in addition to their grants, to command the free use of Government teachers and buildings for the tuition and examination of their pupils. This is the case with the Panjab University College, which receives the maximum amount of a grant-in-aid, and ought therefore, like other State-aided institutions, to provide its own buildings and staff of teachers. . . The use by the Panjab University College of the Government College and teaching staff is tantamount to an indirect addition to its grant-in-aid, already at a maximum, and is, moreover, somewhat unjust to the Government officers concerned. The simple but effectual remedy for the various evils pointed out is complete separation of the Panjab University College and Government College, as being institutions founded for different purposes and conducted on different principles.”¹⁶

In his report in the following year, 1873-4, Mr. Lindsay returns to the charge. “The Panjab University College,” he writes, “is a vastly greater gainer than this College by existing arrangements, the burden of which falls on the teaching staff, who are obliged *nolens volens* to work gratuitously for an institution which can afford and is bound, like all other institutions receiving a grant-in-aid, to provide its own teachers, actual teaching, and not the holding of opposition examinations to the Government (Calcutta) University, being the evident object for which grant-in-aid institutions are desired to be encouraged in the Educational Despatches.”¹⁷

Even at this distance of time we feel much sympathy for the harassed Principal, who had come from England in 1870 to be Professor of Mathematics at Government College,

*The famous educational despatch of Sir Charles Wood, President of the Board of Control of the East India Company.

Lahore, and in addition had so soon found himself involved in this difficult problem; especially as in the next year, 1875, he proceeded to England on sick leave on S.S. "Coromandel," which disappeared without leaving a trace. But we can scarcely extend that sympathy to his arguments. He did not comprehend the intention of the Despatches of 1854 and 1859, so far as they relate to the development of universities in India, nor the fact that those universities were all founded on the model of London, which Panjab University College was attempting also to follow. He had forgotten that Panjab University College had been authorised by the Government of India to hold examinations and grant certificates, and that the Secretary of State, in approving this decision, had promised that, if the new institution was successful, it would be raised to the full status of a University. He had admitted that the standard of Panjab University College examinations was higher than that of Calcutta; he knew that the growth of Government College was largely due to the grant of further scholarships by Panjab University College; he knew that both the Panjab Government and Panjab University College were trying to remove or reduce the difficulty of the dual system; he knew that Panjab University College had undertaken teaching to the limit of its resources, with the establishment of Oriental College and the beginning of a Law School in its first year. His reiterated statement that Panjab University College was merely a "grant-in-aid" institution contains a *suppressio veri*. The Universities of Oxford and Cambridge then received Royal aid and have since also become state-aided institutions; but this has never reduced them to the status of private primary or secondary schools.

In fine, Mr. Lindsay's outburst deserves attention chiefly because it conveys an attitude which to-day still presents an obstacle to the adequate development of Indian universities. A Government College cannot become or replace a University; a university cannot be a Government institution; every university in the world is assisted by the Government of the state, which retains some effective influence in its control.

Apprehension might at one time have been felt, that the original movement which led to the establishment of

Panjab University College would give birth to an institution founded on principles incompatible with those of the Department of Education. But the actual form which it had now assumed was largely due to the influence of the Lieutenant-Governor personally, of the Government, and of the superior educational officers of the Province. The Senate had been appointed by Government and included many of the highest officers of the Province, and no measure passed by this body could have effect until approved by Government. The staff of Government College therefore was not required to work gratuitously for an alien institution, although Government did require that students should be permitted to appear as candidates at examinations to which it had given formal sanction. ¹⁸

In October, 1867, Sir Donald McLeod had wished to induce Calcutta University to modify its rules, rather than to support the foundation of a separate University. But Calcutta University had resisted those representations, though since then it had accepted some of the principles which had been urged upon it. From the time of that refusal the Government of the Panjab had supported the proposal to establish a separate university with the assistance, not only of the originators of the Oriental movement, but also of many officers who would have preferred the Calcutta connexion, if that University would have conceded certain necessary modifications. Throughout the movement there had been differences of opinion as to the form and functions of the proposed new University, and its actual constitution was therefore the result of a compromise.

Whatever might have been thought of the expediency of founding Panjab University College, it *did* exist, it possessed considerable property and other rights, and it could not be suppressed without reflecting serious discredit upon the judgment of the Governments of the Panjab and of India and of the Secretary of State. For Government to support it with the maximum grant-in-aid, and to authorise its Senate to conduct examinations at which students of Government Colleges were not allowed to appear, would be an absurd anomaly. The dual system of examinations was also a patent anomaly, but it was transitory, however vex-

atious. As soon as Panjab University College should inspire sufficient confidence, the Government of India would grant it the full authority of a University. It was the plain duty of everyone concerned with Panjab University College to establish that confidence as soon as possible.¹⁹

There was no doubt of the excessive inconvenience of the dual system of examinations. Principals continued to bewail it, until it was removed by the establishment of the University of the Panjab in 1882. For example, the Principal of Government College, Delhi, writes in 1874-5: "The aims and requirements of the two systems differ very considerably, and it is only by the greater latitude in the choice of subjects enjoyed under the Panjab University scheme that the two can be worked simultaneously at all. Then the mental strain of two exhaustive and protracted examinations must be severely felt, at least if they follow each other at no great interval, and on the other hand, if the interval be considerable, the session is practically curtailed, as at present, to little over ten months for the F. A. students, and four for the B. A., exclusive of the sanctioned vacations and holidays. The necessary distraction of mind attendant on the double system cannot but be injurious to the vigorous development of the students, and is a further reason for desiring that in some way an end may be put to the present anomaly. The students at present are decidedly in favour of continuing the connection with the Calcutta University, but this is chiefly because it alone has as yet the privilege of conferring the scholastic degree so much coveted. There can be little doubt that the students would willingly devote themselves exclusively to the Panjab University College if only its University status were conceded."²⁰

In the following year, 1875-6, the same Principal reported convincingly: "There can be very little doubt that the double system is operating injuriously on the students and must be regarded as an influential cause of the failure of the average student. The best men do not go in for both examinations and thus the strain falls on those least able to sustain it."²¹

Similar reasonable complaints were repeated annually by the Director of Public Instruction and the Principals of

the two Government Colleges, until their cause was removed in the only way now possible.

In the winter of 1876 Government College, Delhi, was closed, its students being transferred to the College at Lahore, which had just removed to the building which it still occupies. The amalgamation of the two Government Colleges seems not to have been popular with either the staffs or the students. It was effected apparently in order to concentrate academic activity at Lahore and so to assist the development of Panjab University College, with the ever-present object of gaining for it full university status.²² But six more years were to pass before this was achieved.

Government College, Delhi, was described in the Report of the Education Commission of 1882-3 as for many years "the only conspicuous Government institution (for education) within the territories now known as the Panjab." This Report informs us that "in 1792 an Oriental College, supported by voluntary contributions from Muhammadan gentlemen, was founded at Delhi for the study of Persian and Arabic, but, owing to the reduced circumstances of the patrons, the funds failed. In 1825 a Government College was opened at Delhi under the Committee of Public Instruction; and in 1829 it was endowed by a munificent bequest of Rs. 1,70,000 from the Nawab Itimad-ud-Daula, Prime Minister of the King of Oudh. The application of the endowment was the subject of much discussion; but it was finally resolved by the Committee that the Delhi College should be made an efficient institution for Muhammadan learning. This resolution was not, however, carried into effect. The Delhi College always attracted a large preponderance of Hindus, and for some years the endowment has been applied to the support of a successful middle school, attended almost exclusively by the Muhammadans, and known as the Anglo-Arabic School."²³

Delhi College not unnaturally ceased to exist in 1857, and the building was occupied by troops for some years afterwards. In 1864 a Government College was established at Delhi, and continued to exist until the Panjab Government decided by a resolution dated 15th February, 1877, to close it, in order that the staff of Government College, Lahore,

might be strengthened without further expenditure.²⁴ Government College, Delhi, was officially closed on 1st April, 1877, but its students had already been transferred to Lahore in the preceding November.²⁵

The people of Delhi were aggrieved at this action, for during its existence the College had been quite successful. It had passed 61 candidates at the First Arts, 18 at the B.A., and 4 at the M. A. Examinations of the University of Calcutta. During the same period, 1864—1876, Government College, Lahore, had passed 84, 25 and 7 candidates at the same respective examinations.²⁶

Delhi remained without an institution of higher education until the establishment of Panjab University in 1882. In that year the Cambridge Mission established St. Stephen's College, which was affiliated to Panjab University when the latter was fully constituted in October, 1882. Its arrangements were made to coincide as far as possible with those of Government College, Lahore, and students could be transferred from either College with the consent of the Principal. St. Stephen's College, Delhi, thus, after a lapse of six years, assumed the same relation to Government College, Lahore, and Panjab University, as Government College, Delhi, had originally been intended to fulfil;²⁷ and it continued in this relation until, at the foundation of the University of Delhi in 1922 its affiliation was transferred to that University.

In 1879-80 a further step was taken by Government to assist in removing the bugbear by discouraging students from appearing in the Calcutta University Examinations. In his annual report Lieutenant-Colonel W. R. M. Holroyd, Director of Public Instruction, stated; "The double system of examination in the Panjab still continues, the students having the option of going up for the Entrance, First Arts, B. A. and M. A. Examinations of the University of Calcutta, or the corresponding examinations of the Panjab University College, and some appearing in both sets of examinations. Hitherto Government scholarships have been awarded in accordance with the results of the Examinations of Calcutta University. This, coupled with the superior prestige of the Calcutta University, as compared with an



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University Hall.

institution that cannot confer degrees, has induced the best students to go up for these examinations. The Panjab University College on the other hand has offered scholarships of somewhat less value, but more in number, than the Calcutta University and thus attracted a majority of students. In future Government scholarships will be awarded in accordance with the results of the examinations of Panjab University College, and the candidates for the Calcutta University Examinations are likely to be few in number, though some, perhaps, will continue to present themselves until Panjab University College is empowered to confer degrees."²⁸

Government scholarships tenable at the Lahore College had hitherto been awarded to one of every four candidates who were successful in the Entrance and First Arts Examinations of Calcutta University. The award of Government scholarships was now to be determined by the results of the corresponding examinations of Panjab University College. The Senate of Panjab University College also awarded a large number of scholarships on the results of its examinations.²⁹ The new uniformity obviously reduced the complexity of teaching in Government College, but the lure of a degree—to be gained only from Calcutta—remained to confuse it.

(ii) *Progress.*

Throughout the thirteen years of its existence Panjab University College was a very modest institution, as an examination of Appendix I of this volume will reveal. In the first year of its operations 88 candidates presented themselves for the Entrance Examination, of whom 41 passed; while 30 appeared in the Proficiency in Arts Examination, of whom 25 gained the certificate. In the same year 81 candidates appeared in the various Oriental Examinations, of whom 32 were awarded various certificates of proficiency.

In the last series of examinations held by the University College before its elevation the figures reveal an increase both

in numbers of candidates and in range of subjects, though they were still small, as this table shows.

<i>Examinations.</i>	<i>No. of candidates.</i>	<i>No. passed.</i>
Entrance	249	75
Proficiency in Arts (F.A.)	37	14
High Proficiency in Arts (B.A.)	15	2
Honours in Arts (M.A.)	3	3
First Law	105	48
Final Law	65	35
First Medical	12	12
Final Medical	8	4
First in Civil Engineering	1	1
Final in Civil Engineering	..	..
All Oriental Examinations	399	182

Another short table will show the total number of candidates in all examinations during the first ten years of the existence of the University College.

<i>Examinations.</i>	<i>No. of candidates.</i>	<i>No. passed.</i>
Arts	1,747	885
Law	303	151
Engineering	26	8
Medical	186	145
Maulvi, Pandit, Munshi	1,514	698

These figures are derived from a manuscript table drawn up by Dr. Leitner in September, 1882, reproduced in Appendix I, and from a "Report on the Operations and Progress of the Panjab University College during the year 1879," which are the only documents of the kind revealed by a careful search.

Although it was largely an administrative and examining body, Panjab University College conducted direct teaching in Oriental and Law Colleges. The Medical College was maintained separately by Government, its examinations alone being conducted through the University College.

According to the only Report relating to this period which we have been able to discover, for the year 1879, Oriental College was "in a flourishing condition." It was the peculiar care of Dr. Leitner, who added the function of its "guide, philosopher and friend" to his other duties, as Principal of Government College and Professor of Arabic and Muhammadan Law therein, and Registrar of the University College.

In the Report by Dr. Leitner, to which we have just referred, he states: "The objects of the Oriental College are twofold:

"(1) To give a high classical Oriental education together with instruction in branches of general knowledge, and, (2) To give a practical direction to every study. Men who intend to devote themselves entirely to Literature or Science, have Scholarships and Fellowships to look forward to, with their incumbent duties of teaching and translating, or they may return to their homes as thoroughly trained Maulvis and Pandits who have also received a liberal education. Those who aspire to the higher dignity and function of Kazi are not only trained in their own Law, but also in the principles of jurisprudence and of the Indian Codes. Persons who wish to take up the practical work of teaching in Army Schools or in the Educational Department will, it has been promised, be admitted to a course in the Normal School. The arrangements are still in progress, and, considering the varied and difficult material to deal with, as well as the important aims in view, much time and labour will yet have to be devoted to their successful execution. Still the Oriental College is now aiming to train its students for—

1. The Entrance, Proficiency and High Proficiency Examination in Arts.
2. The Oriental Certificates of Pandit, Maulvi and Munshi of various degrees.
3. For Oriental Fellowships and Translatorships.
4. The teaching functions of Maulvis and Pandits and the practical work of Munshis.
5. Native Lawyers.

6. Sub-Overseers.

7. Teachers (for Indigenous, Army and Educational Department Schools).

8. Hakims and Bēds trained in native, and prepared for European systems of Medicine.”³⁰

It will be seen that the Doctor is displaying all the charms of his nursling ; for to him, as from the beginning, the Oriental Department was the College, as he hoped that it would become the University. His enthusiasm bursts forth again in this Report. “The conduct of the students (of the Oriental College) has been exemplary in spite of the heterogeneous elements of which the College is composed. An academical feeling is growing up, whilst sectarian animosities are absolutely unknown. The Central Asian students are still remaining, and it is hoped that Government may give a special grant to attract and keep students from those parts, who may serve as pioneers of our civilisation on their return to their homes.

“We have now in the College several Kabulis and men from Hunza and Nagyr, whilst the Mullahs from Badakhshan, Bokhara, Kolab and Gabrial are distinguished Oriental Scholars.”³¹

Instruction in the College was maintained by means of Maulvis, Pandits and Munshis, with the help of various students who had stipends as Fellows and Translators. In this regard we learn with some surprise from the Report that “in Engineering, the classes have been taught at the Oriental College, Lahore, by Ganga Ram, the Mayo-Patiala Fellow.”³²

A scheme of examination in Civil Engineering had been sanctioned by the Government during the year 1873-4. Two examinations were arranged : the first, open to students one year after passing the Entrance Examination, would qualify them for employment as lower or upper subordinates (according to the class in which they were placed) in the Public Works Department ; the second, held a year later, for the appointment of Sub-Engineers or Assistant-Engineers.”³³ It was in order to supply the requirements of these examinations that this rather unexpected department of Oriental

College was instituted. It seems not to have been conspicuously popular, for, during the eight series of annual examinations which were held, a total of 33 students presented themselves for the First Examination, 15 passing, and only one for the Final Examination in which he succeeded.*

We are informed by Dr. Leitner's Report that Law classes had been started by the Anjuman in 1868. They could have been but short-lived, for the Anjuman College was closed on 1st June in that year. He states that they "were taken over by the University in 1870, and were organised on their present footing chiefly by Mr. C. R. Lindsay, Judge of the Chief Court, Panjab. Mr. Ryall has most efficiently conducted them. Altogether we have a stronger Staff than the Law School at Allahabad."³⁴

No examinations in Law were held by the University College before 1874; instead, students were sent up to the Pleader's Examinations, held under the Legal Practitioners Act according to rules framed by the Judges of the Chief Court. In that year the Examinations were placed under the control of the University College and the position of the Law College was thus securely established.³⁵ From that year the number of candidates increased rapidly from five in the First and eleven in the Final Examination, until in 1881 there were 105 candidates in the First and 65 candidates in the Final Examination in Law.

Even the Law College came at least for a time within the academic scope of the versatile Dr. Leitner, for that patriarch, Rai Bahadur Pandit Sheo Narain, who must surely be the *doyen* of the Advocates of the High Court, informs us that, when he was a student at Government College, which he entered in 1876, "during the temporary absence of the Principal of the Law College he (Dr. Leitner) was able to lecture to us on Jurisprudence."³⁶

It will be remembered that the first object prescribed for the University College, when it was sanctioned by the Government of India, was "to promote the diffusion of European science, as far as possible through the medium of the vernacular languages of the Panjab and the improve-

* See Appendix I.

ment and extension of vernacular literature generally.”³⁷ It was proposed to achieve this by offering monetary rewards to translators, editors and compilers. Sometimes a prize was given by the Senate to the author, as in the case of Raghunath Das, who received Rs. 500 for a Treatise on Electricity and Galvanism. More often the encouragement took the form of purchase by the University College of a number of copies of the author's work, presumably for the use chiefly of students. The number of copies purchased varied from as few as four to as many as 550. A selection from among the works thus patronised may not be without interest.

As might be expected, the first four volumes which the University College rewarded in this way were prepared by Dr. Leitner. They were :

“Sanin-i-Islam,” Parts I and II, and an Arabic grammar, “Muqadamat-us-sarf,” in Urdu and in Arabic.

Other volumes produced by this stimulus included :

“Amraz-us-Sibian,” a work on the diseases of children, in Urdu, by Dr. Rahim Khan ;

“Atam Tatwa Vidya,” a treatise on psychology, in Gurmukhi, by L. Behari Lal ;

Huxley's Physiology, in Urdu, by Dr. Rahim Khan ;
 Fowler's Logic, in Urdu, by Madan Gopal and Aya Ram, B.A. ;

Rosecoe's Chemistry, in Urdu, by Dr. Amir Shah ;

“Tadrisat-i-ilm-Tabai,” or Introductory Lectures on Physical Science, in Urdu, by Dr. Amir Shah ;

Todhunter's Statics, in Urdu, by L. Aya Ram, B.A. ;

“Lakhshnavali,” or a Treatise on Logic, in Hindi, by Pandit Sukh Dyal Shastri ; and,

Dynamics, in Urdu, by Babu Sasi Bhushan Mukerji, M.A.³⁸

In addition to such volumes a number of text-books and translations were published each year at the expense of the University College for the use of candidates for its

examinations. Not much seems to have been accomplished in this direction during the first five years, but thereafter a deluge of translations and compilations emerged from the press. "Before 1876," wrote the Registrar, "the rule that every fellow and scholar was bound to translate, edit or compile books, in addition to his duties as a teacher, had remained a dead letter. Now, in consequence of wiser elections, the stringency with which the rule is carried out, and of the time which the three months of the long vacation afford, some very valuable material has been contributed by the labours of our Staff."³⁹ So academic Panjab became infected with writer's itch, one of the universal diseases of modern civilisation, for which many to-day would be glad to discover an effective antidote. It would be interesting to learn the value of the average volume produced by the system which Dr. Leitner so highly commended.

It was intended that the University College should form not only a learned society, but also a consultative body, with the educational officers of Government, for all matters of public instruction, including primary education. In this latter respect the Senate was often valuably employed by Government in consultation upon such questions as: the prevalent condition of Muhammadan education in the Province; the possibility of substituting payment by results for the existing grant-in-aid system; and the means of extending the range of Urdu literature. But the chief service rendered in this field by the Senate lay in the assistance which their endowments enabled them to give to students who wished to continue their studies at such institutions as the Lahore Medical College and Rurki Engineering College, as well as at the Government Arts Colleges at Lahore and Delhi.⁴⁰

There remains one aspect of the progress of Panjab University College which requires description, namely, its financial development; but it is impossible to give this to the satisfaction of an accountant, because of the paucity and the conflict of contemporary accounts. Only two Calendars of Panjab University College have rewarded a careful search. These describe operations in the years 1875 and 1880. In addition, a "Report of Operations and

Progress" of the year 1879 has been discovered. It has been possible to supplement the financial statements in these Reports by means of certain later attempts, especially in 1884 and 1885, to render a clear account of the financial affairs of Panjab University College. The Registrar of the College seems to have been more gifted as a propagandist than as an actuary. There is a certain semi-domestic *insouciance* about its financial statements, which reminds us of the story of the housewife who balanced her weekly budget by means of a mystic entry, "N. K.", of which, in answer to her husband's enquiry, she explained the meaning—"Not Known." For example, in the first at all satisfactory account of "the Special Trusts in the possession of, and connected with, the Panjab University on 31st December, 1885," on the last page the Registrar, Mr. Frederic Larpent, records—a little wearily, it seems: "I have thus, so far as has been possible, explained the position of each Trust, and I conclude this report with an explanation of a Trust which, though it has been borne on the books as a Special Trust, has no real existence."⁴¹ Moreover, a perusal of this Report, so painfully prepared, reveals several N. Ks.!

The University College had begun life at the end of 1869 with a total endowment of donations amounting to Rs. 1,06,816, together with a certain number of subscriptions, some recurring, others not. One of the most energetic activities of the Executive Committee of the Senate during its earliest years had been to remind, encourage, even cajole subscribers to fulfil their promises. But on the whole, during its existence in that form, the College was fortunate in its benefactions; indeed, during that first flush of enthusiasm for an ideal not yet fully realised, more fortunate than it has since been in its accomplished form as a University. By 1876 the Endowment Fund had risen to Rs. 3,55,300. During the following six years "the Endowment Fund did not increase with much rapidity, owing, no doubt, to the 'hope deferred' of past years, and the delay in fulfilling the pledges given."⁴² When the University was incorporated in 1882, the Fund amounted to Rs. 3,84,495 having been increased by only Rs. 29,195 in six years.⁴³ In 1932, when the University had been in existence for fifty years, the Endowment Fund amounted to Rs. 5,34,474,

representing an increase of one and a half lakhs in half-a-century.⁴¹

In the University Calendar, 1884-5, it is stated that "many large annual subscriptions which had been promised had been withheld ; still the subscription list stands high. It is probable that the Native Chiefs, Nobles and others will now come forward with further aid. An endowment fund of nine hundred thousand rupees was what had been indicated as necessary in 1865. Including money now under investment and the Senate Hall Building, half that amount stands to credit ; and in all probability, with care and energy the rest will be obtained in a few years."⁴⁵ The Registrar's optimism was scarcely justified by the event !

Government had never been over-generous in its assistance. To the end of its existence as a University College the institution had received annually from Government no more than the grant originally promised of Rs. 21,000. Every year the private income of the College had exceeded the Government grant, for example, in 1870 by Rs. 1,810 ; in 1876 by Rs. 3,312 ; in 1882 by Rs. 33,495. Altogether between 1870 and 1882 the private income of Panjab University College had exceeded the total Government grant by Rs. 1,27,550.

There seems to be little doubt that the decline in public financial assistance was partly due to a general belief that Government was somewhat apathetic to the development of the University. Not only did it not increase its annual grant, but also the Government of India appeared to the supporters of the University College to be reluctant to offer to the institution any near prospect of achieving its full status. "The other Indian Universities," states the report contained in the Calendar above quoted, "are Government institutions. The Panjab University wishes to become a national institution, favoured alike by the Government and the People."⁴⁷ The Princes, Nobles and gentry of the Panjab had, on the whole, assisted generously. It is not surprising that they should begin to feel that the burden of support should not continue to rest largely upon them without at least equal official assistance.

A survey of the University Report on Special Trusts in 1885 reveals one outstanding fact, namely, that the University

College, and therefore the University, is indebted to the liberality of several Ruling Princes, Nobles and prominent personages of the Panjab for a very large proportion of the endowment which has enabled it to perform its most characteristic work. We have already observed that, of the total sum of Rs. 98,794 collected up to 27th May, 1868, for establishing a University Rs. 62,500 (=one lakh of Srinagar rupees) had been subscribed by His Highness, Sir Ranbir Singh, Maharaja of Jammu and Kashmir; and Rs. 10,000 by His Highness, Randhir Singh, Raja of Kapurthala; while His Highness, Narindar Singh, Maharaja of Patiala, had independently placed in trust the sum of Rs. 50,000 for the same purpose.⁴⁸

The Ruling Princes, Nobles and gentry continued by their munificence to support the Panjab University College throughout its existence as such. Of the total amount of Rs. 2,29,426 donated between 1870 and 1882 for the purpose of permanent endowment, a total sum of Rs. 1,91,630 came from them; while they also probably subscribed generously to several of the funds—of which no lists can now be found—which made up the remaining Rs. 37,796.⁴⁹

The total donations of the principal individual Princes, Nobles and notables to the Panjab University College during this period deserves particular mention, as follows:

	Rs.
Maharaja of Jammu and Kashmir ..	93,478
Maharaja of Patiala	91,230
Maharaja of Kapurthala	38,000
Nawab of Bahawalpur	37,331
Raja of Jhind	21,000
Raja of Nabha	17,000
Raja Vijai Sein of Mandi	14,000
Nawab Sikander Ali Khan of Maler Kotla ..	3,860
Nawab Inayat Ali Khan of Maler Kotla ..	2,000
Raja Wazir Singh of Faridkot	1,000
Raja Harbans Singh	8,100
Nawab Nawazish Ali Khan	2,600
Sardar Bikrama Singh Ahluwalia	1,610
R. B. Kanhya Lal	1,322
Sardar Attar Singh	1,000

The donations of His Highness the Nawab of Bahawalpur included a total sum of Rs. 25,000, which was devoted to the building in 1874 of the Bahawalpur Senate Hall—the first building exclusively owned and occupied by the University. His Highness had originally donated the sum of Rs. 15,000 in a special Trust to the Lahore Municipal Committee for the construction of a drinking fountain in Anarkali, in order to commemorate the visit of His Royal Highness, the Duke of Edinburgh, to the Panjab. The project was not executed, and, with the consent of the Nawab, the sum was transferred to the Senate of Panjab University College for the purpose of erecting a Senate Hall. The Nawab subsequently donated a further Rs. 10,000 for the same purpose. This total sum of Rs. 25,000, with interest, defrayed about five-sixths of the cost of the old Senate Hall, which now houses most of the offices of the University.⁵⁰

One phase of the financial development of the College and University must not, however, be overlooked. Panjab University College was chiefly an administrative and examining body. If we analyse its expenditure in the year 1880, for example, we find that of the total, amounting to Rs. 59,590, only Rs. 14,494 was expended on Oriental College and Rs. 4,779 on "Law and Aided Schools"; that is, only Rs. 19,273, or less than one-third of the total expenditure, was devoted to purposes of direct teaching. At the same time Government was maintaining an Arts College and a Medical College, besides making grants for the assistance of other colleges which were actually engaged in preparing candidates for the examinations of Panjab University College.⁵¹

As the Calcutta University Commission observed in their Report: "The authors of the despatch of 1854 assuredly did not intend that their system should be so narrowly conceived as it came to be in practice. And while they manifestly contemplated that the ordinary subjects of study should be dealt with by the Colleges, they did not intend that the universities should be deprived of all teaching functions; on the contrary they recommended the establishment of a number of university Chairs in branches of learning for the acquisition of which, at any rate in an advanced

degree, facilities do not now exist in other institutions.”²⁵
 It was three decades before Panjab University seriously considered measures to supply this defect in its function.

The University College had progressed steadily, especially after 1876, when the Viceroy, Lord Lytton, visited Lahore and promised to support its elevation to the full status of a University. The statistics for the years 1876, 1878, 1879 and 1880 reveal this progress. (The statistics of examinations held in 1877 are unobtainable).

	Entrance.	Proficiency or First Arts.	High Proficiency or B.A.	Honours in Arts or M.A.
1876.				
For Calcutta	105	16	9	1
„ Panjab University College.	202	27	7	2
1878.				
For Calcutta	102	13	5	1
„ P. U. C.	262	48	17	2
1879.				
For Calcutta	97	10	8	0
„ P. U. C.	232	28	6	2
1880.				
For Calcutta	107	11	9	0
	(of whom 65 went up also for P. U. C. Examn.)	(all of whom went for the P. U. C. Examn.)	(of whom 5 also went for P. U. C. Examn.)	
For P. U. C.	249	36	17	1
Total No. of candidates for Calcutta Examinations 1876-80	=496			
„ „ „ „ „ P. U. C. Examinations 1876-80	=1,138 ⁵³			

The arguments for the formal recognition of the maturity of Panjab University College had become by 1880 reasonably convincing. The chief negative consideration was the obvious necessity of abolishing the dual system of examinations at the earliest moment consistent with a sense of security in the competence of the young institution to fulfil the functions of the older Indian Universities. On the positive side is the fact that donations and subscriptions had been accruing steadily on the implicit understanding that they were intended for the support of an institution which was soon to receive the full authority of a University. (The sad reflection in this regard is that, as soon as the full



status of a University was achieved, these donations for its endowment ceased almost completely!) Again, the examinations held by Panjab University College were proving much more attractive to candidate than those of Calcutta University, despite the lure of a degree which the latter held ; while it was generally acknowledged that the standards maintained in the local examinations were at least equal to those of Calcutta. Finally the local aristocracy and educated class had become focussed in the Lahore College, and it was highly desirable to secure and intensify this interest in the higher education of the Province by attaching to it the formal prestige associated with the authority to confer degrees, thus removing the sense of inequality with the older Provinces.

CHAPTER IV

THE RAISING OF PANJAB UNIVERSITY COLLEGE TO A UNIVERSITY

Panjab University College came into actual existence on 11th January, 1870—a year made memorable in the history of the world by the outbreak of the Franco-Prussian War, which was destined to have consequences deeply involving the Panjab some forty-four years later. Almost immediately the academic campaign was begun to secure for the College the right to confer degrees, which was the insignia of a *pukka* university.

An Educational Conference was held at Lahore in 1871, at which the question was propounded: “Is the Panjab ready for a University of its own?” It was answered strongly in the affirmative, and the Conference recommended that the local Government be urged to represent to the Supreme Government the necessity of conferring on Panjab University College the power to grant degrees.¹

In reply to this request, the Lieutenant-Governor, Sir Henry Durand, expressed his opinion that the Governor-General-in-Council would not be unwilling to grant the University College the desired concession, which was conditionally promised when the scheme was first sanctioned, if only it could be shown to his satisfaction that the material to be examined in the Province was large enough to warrant the grant of University degrees, and that the examinations should not be of less severity than those of Calcutta University.

The Lieutenant-Governor accordingly appointed the following Committee to prepare a scheme of examinations for the Panjab University College :

President.—Mr. C. Boulnois, Judge of the Chief Court ;

Members.—Captain Holroyd, Mr. Pearson, Mr. Baden-Powell, Dr. Leitner, Dr. Center, Mr. Sime, Dr. Trumpp, Mr. H. Plowden, Dr. Brown, Mr. deLacy Johnstone, Babu Nobin Chander, Rai Kanhaya Lal, Dr. Rahim Khan.



The Committee was instructed that the examinations should be, if not of the same character as those of Calcutta in all particulars, yet equal in severity; that English should be a *sine qua non* in the examinations for the B.A. and M.A. degrees; that for all examinations except Entrance the examiners should be independent of the institution and drawn as far as possible from other Provinces in India—the rule being strictly enforced that no officer should examine his own pupils. The Committee was also instructed that some modification might be found necessary in order to bring the Entrance and First Arts Examinations into consistent relation with those for the B.A. and M.A. degrees.²

The Committee prepared schemes of examinations in the Faculties of Arts, Medicine, Law and Engineering, which were approved by the Lieutenant-Governor,³ who submitted them to the Governor-General-in-Council, together with his own views upon the subject of empowering the University College to confer degrees.

Sir Henry Durand expressed the opinion that, "if the power of granting degrees be now conceded to the Panjab University College, the estimation in which those degrees would be held would not be inferior to that accorded to the degrees of other Universities in India. The fact that the examinations will differ in many of their details from those of Bombay and Calcutta will hardly affect the question, if the difficulty of the respective examinations remains the same. That Lahore degrees may be of a somewhat different character does not appear important; almost every University has characteristics peculiarly its own; each has some *specialité*; each attracts a different class of students."⁴ The Lieutenant-Governor was obviously arguing against the fear previously expressed by certain members of the Governor-General's Council that, if Panjab University College were empowered to confer degrees, it might give currency to degrees of a standard inferior to that of other Indian Universities.

The Government of India, before considering the propriety of increasing the powers of the University College, wished to examine the statutes and rules under which it was being conducted, and to receive a complete but concise

report of its operations since its foundation.⁵ These documents were prepared by Mr. J. G. Cordery, Director of Public Instruction, Panjab, and forwarded to the Government of India on 5th March, 1873.⁶

That tireless propagandist, Dr. Leitner, was not content to forward this report merely to the Government of India. He brought it also to the notice of the International Jury at the Vienna Exhibition and, through the British Educational Commissioner, to the notice of the Queen and the Prince of Wales. In consequence a Blue Book on the subject was laid before both Houses of Parliament in July, 1873. Parliament and the Prince of Wales acknowledged a polite interest; ⁷ but the Government of India was not favourably impressed. After considering the documents, it replied on 8th April, 1873, bluntly declining to accede to the request.

"I am directed," wrote Mr. A. C. Lyall, Secretary to the Government of India, Home Department, "to acknowledge the receipt of your letter No. 836, with enclosures, submitting a report on the operations of the Lahore University College, and in reply to say that the Governor-General-in-Council is not convinced by this correspondence that the time has yet arrived for raising the Lahore institution to the status of a University.

"Without reopening the whole discussion upon the merits of the University scheme, and without replying in detail to arguments which have not been over-ruled except after attentive consideration of them, His Excellency in Council desires me to convey to you his conclusion that the measure now recommended by the Lieutenant-Governor would be at least premature."⁸ (One can detect the cold tone of Lord Northbrook in this reply).

The decision evoked the acute disappointment of the supporters of the scheme, though we must surely agree that it was dictated by reasonable caution and placed upon those enthusiasts the responsibility of justifying the step by demonstrating from experience the necessity for it; in other words, by making the University College such an efficient institution that the anomaly of its relation with the University of Calcutta would have to be removed as they desired. The campaign in consequence lulled for some three years.



Sir P. C. Chatterji, Kt., R.B., M.A., C.I.E. Vice-Chancellor,
1907—1909.



Dr. Sir Muhammad Iqbal, Kt., M.A., F.H. D., Hon. D. Litt.,
Barrister-at-Law.

According to the evidence of a contemporary, R. B. Chuni Lal, whose reminiscences are quoted by Mr. H. L. O. Garrett, editor of "A History of Government College, Lahore," the *Excelsior* banner was raised again in 1876 by the pertinacious Dr. Leitner, who is said to have gained from Lord Lytton, on the Viceroy's visit to Government College, "the promise to raise the Panjab University College to the status of a University, the promise having been specifically based on the hope that the students from Hunza and Gilgit in the Oriental College 'will be the pioneers of our civilisation in the virgin fields of the Frontier,' which fields were not accessible to the influence of any other University in India."⁹ This may well be, for we know the romantic aspirations of Dr. Leitner in regard to the educational "conquest" of trans-frontier regions, which would have chimed well with Lord Lytton's self-confessed "fancy prospect, painted on the blank wall of the future, of bequeathing to India the supremacy of central Asia."

In any case, in that same year 1876 the adroit Disraeli—with whom Dr. Leitner shared certain personal characteristics—had passed the Royal Titles Bill through the British Parliament. ("Monarchs," wrote Mr. Guedalla recently, "have often raised their ministers a step in the peerage; but what minister before Disraeli bestowed a step in the monarchy upon his sovereign?")¹⁰ At the great Darbar at Delhi on the first day of 1877 the Governor-General proclaimed Queen Victoria *Kaisar-i-Hind*, and favours were bestowed with a lavish hand. That glamorous moment, when the novelist-Prime Minister wove imperial fantasies, which the son of another famous romance-writer sought, as Viceroy, to embellish, was not to be neglected by the watchers at Lahore. The Senate promptly submitted a memorial to the Governor-General, asking that on this historic occasion larger powers might be conceded to Panjab University College, raising it to the status of a University and thus enabling it to confer degrees.¹¹

The Senate's request was approved by the Lieutenant-Governor, who forwarded it to the Governor-General, recommending that sanction might fitly be granted on the occasion of the Queen's assumption of the new title, and

stating that it would be received with gratitude by an influential class at Lahore and elsewhere in the Panjab.¹²

This time the Government of India received the petition most affably and requested the Panjab Government to inform the memorialists that the Governor-General-in-Council approved of the proposed measure and that legislation would be initiated to give effect to it.¹³

The Viceroy, whose vision at this time ranged beyond the North-West Frontier, concluded his official reply to the petition with these words: "The frontier Province in which you reside presents a wide and almost virgin field for educational activity, not confined to British territory, and I am glad to be instrumental to the means and opportunities of cultivating that field by promoting the influence of an Institution better adapted than any other, which we yet possess, to commence so good a work."¹⁴

Accordingly, on 27th January, 1877, Mr. A. Howell, officiating Secretary to the Government of India, Home Department—who, by a strange irony, had been one of the coldest critics of the original scheme*—addressed to the Secretary to the Government of India, Legislative Department, a request that the necessary steps might be taken to initiate an Act on the models of Acts No. II of 1857, No. XLVII of 1860, and No. XXI of 1875, to raise Panjab University College to the status of a University.¹⁵

In order to facilitate the introduction of the necessary bill, the Panjab Government prepared a draft, which it submitted to the Government of India.¹⁶ This draft was modelled generally upon Acts No. II of 1857 (the Calcutta University Act), No. XXI of 1875 (an Act to authorise Calcutta University to confer honorary degrees), and No. XLVII of 1860 (the Indian Universities Degree Act), with the differences which had been emphasised in the original petition and which were, in fact, later incorporated in the constitution of Panjab University.¹⁷

All these papers were forwarded to the Secretary of State for India, Lord Salisbury, and were considered by him in the India Council. It is interesting to recall that, during these months Indian troops, including Panjabi regiments,

*See above, Chap. I, page 18.

were brought to Malta by Disraeli—their first appearance in Europe forming part of Disraeli's theatrical gesture towards Russia, whose conquest of Turkey at this time was much too complete for the Prime Minister's pleasure. The Sikh regiments created a very favourable impression upon British officers who had never seen them before, and it is not too much to guess that, with the Afghan War also looming on the horizon, their appearance was not without effect upon the Secretary of State for India, who was then considering a proposal to elevate Panjab University College into a University.

The despatch of the Secretary of State upon the proposal raised several considerations :

(i) The efficiency in teaching of an institution like Panjab University College, he maintained, had no necessary connexion with the power of granting degrees. On the contrary, one of the most valuable guarantees of vigour and thoroughness in a teaching institution is the independence of the authority by which the results of its teaching are tested. (The Secretary of State obviously did not appreciate that a University in India was at that time primarily an examining and not a teaching body.)

(ii) He observed that much difference of opinion existed between persons entitled to speak with authority as to the expediency of removing the power of conferring degrees from the University of Calcutta to the Panjab University College so far as concerns the students of the Panjab ; that all were not agreed that the Panjab University College had any ground of complaint. There was not sufficient evidence, he argued, that examiners at once competent and independent could be obtained for the Lahore institution, or that a sufficient amount of controlling public opinion could be brought to bear on teachers and examiners through the medium of the new Senate.

(iii) With regard to the literary degrees in Arts, it was very possible, he thought, that some change might be desirable in the Panjab, but there seemed no reason why the new degrees should continue to bear the same names as those conferred by the University of Calcutta. "The phrases *Master of Arts* and *Bachelor of Arts*," says the

despatch, "are of great antiquity in this country. It would be difficult to alter them, though the inconvenience of giving the same name to certificates which may prove proficiency in very different subjects is even here producing a tendency to depart from these ancient designations. But in India these expressions have no antiquity, nor have they any meaning in Northern India apart from their close association with the degrees of the University of Calcutta. It appears to me, therefore, that it will be desirable that a new and distinct name should be given to the literary degrees of Panjab University."

(iv) "As to the degrees indicating proficiency in Medicine, Law, or Engineering, it was doubtful if the power of granting them should at present be conceded to the new institution."

The despatch concludes with the opinion that it would be prudent to limit the experiment to the establishment of a new University with power to confer, under some new designation, degrees exclusively in those subjects which at Calcutta are indicated by the degrees in Arts.¹⁸

In short, Lord Salisbury felt very cautious and wagged his beard gravely at the whole proposal. But it is plain that his conception of an Indian University was largely and delusively inferred from his knowledge of the ancient Universities of Oxford and Cambridge. Moreover, he obviously confused the proposals in respect of the Oriental College with those which related to the courses for the ordinary Indian Arts degree, which he would have understood, if he had been more familiar with the system of the University of London. Lord Salisbury's animadversions on the proposal must have been very depressing to the enthusiasts who were urging them.

Upon receipt of this very conservative despatch, the Government of India on 16th January, 1878, requested the Panjab Government to express an opinion as to the manner in which the wishes of the Secretary of State could best be carried out without interfering with the due accomplishment of the objects for which the decision to establish a separate University at Lahore was arrived at.¹⁹ (Such is the language of official correspondence.)

The Panjab Government in turn referred the papers to the Senate of the University College, to allow them full opportunity of discussing the proposals made and of endeavouring, as far as possible, to remove any misapprehension regarding either the objects desired or the results achieved by the University College.²⁰ The Executive Committee thereupon prepared a careful report, which was approved by the Senate for submission to the Government.

When the Lieutenant-Governor received this report, dated 24th June, 1878, he did not consider it advisable to take immediate action, or to reply finally to the letter of the Government of India, until a competent committee of officers appointed by Government, possessing special qualifications for the work, should have carefully considered the existing standards of examination of the University College, and had, by analysis and comparison, ascertained whether they were equal in difficulty to those of the University of Calcutta, and as searching a test of high educational requirements. The Proceedings of this Government Committee and the report of the Senate of the University College were forwarded to the Government of India.²¹

The Lieutenant-Governor in submitting these reports to the Government of India, on 12th June, 1879, expressed his satisfaction that, subject to certain amendments, which had been recommended to the Senate and would doubtless be accepted, the examinations were sufficiently difficult, and that the certificates of the Panjab University College were as good a guarantee of efficiency as those of the Universities in other parts of India. The Lieutenant-Governor therefore earnestly solicited the Government of India again to press upon the Secretary of State the desirability of according to the Panjab University College without further delay those powers without which it was shorn of a great portion of its strength.²²

“His Excellency the Viceroy,” ran the letter of the Panjab Government, “was in April last graciously pleased to preside at the Convocation of the Panjab University College; and the address which he delivered on that occasion has infinitely strengthened the hands of the Lieutenant-Governor and of all supporters of the movement in favour

of a national education, in pressing with greater insistence than would perhaps be appropriate were not the interests at stake so important, for the crown of the sacrifices and labours of so many years. The generous and sympathetic remarks of His Excellency, showing how entirely he agreed with the opinions and shared the aspirations of those who, since the foundation of the University College, have attempted to perfect its work, make it unnecessary for the Lieutenant-Governor to urge what is well-known to the Government of India, that the Princes and Chiefs of the Panjab, who have so liberally endowed the University College, and the students of North India, to whom the double examinations of Lahore and Calcutta are an intolerable burden, are alike anxious for the fulfilment of the promises which have been held out for many years, to confer upon the institution the full powers of a University, and which received their last and final expression in the declaration of His Excellency the Viceroy on the occasion of the Imperial Assemblage of 1877.”²³

The Governor-General-in-Council considered this letter and forwarded it to the Secretary of State with a recommendation. Lord Lytton had received this further request at a very favourable time. In May, 1879, the Treaty of Gandamak had been signed and the success of his Afghan policy, on which his heart was set, seemed assured. The Panjab Frontier Force had taken a prominent part in the campaign, and the Viceroy would have strong motives for supporting a measure which many influential persons in the Panjab wished to achieve.

Meanwhile Lord Salisbury had left the India Office for the more congenial Foreign Office, and his successor, Viscount Cranbrook, examined the Viceroy's despatch in Council, and sanctioned the introduction into the Legislative Council of the Governor-General of a Bill to transform Panjab University College into a University to confer degrees in Arts, but added that the Governor-General should not allow the Bill to become an Act until the Government of India had supplied to the Secretary of State evidence that the system of the College had actually been amended in the manner recommended by the Committee appointed by the Lieutenant-



Governor of the Panjab, and until the Secretary of State should have expressed his satisfaction with such evidence.²⁴

In regard to the subjects of Medicine and Law, the Secretary of State was not satisfied that sufficient evidence had been adduced of the comparative proficiency attained in the Schools of the Panjab and the University of Calcutta to enable him at present to judge the expediency of conferring similar privileges on the Panjab University. But the despatch added that the proposed Act might contain a provision enabling the Governor-General-in-Council to grant those privileges in the case of the Faculties of Law and Medicine, and also of Engineering Science, when the Governor-General was convinced by sufficient evidence that the proficiency of Panjab students in those branches of knowledge respectively was equal to that of the students who received degrees from the University of Calcutta.²⁵

CHAPTER V

THE CONSTITUTION OF PANJAB UNIVERSITY, 1880-1882.

At the end of the year 1879 the aim of fifteen years' persistent effort seemed within sight of achievement, the Secretary of State for India having at last sanctioned the preparation of a bill to convert Panjab University College into a complete University.¹ But three years of further effort were yet needed in order to realise it.

The Government of India, on 9th February, 1880, invited the attention of the Panjab Government to the despatch of the Secretary of State,² and requested the necessary evidence, without which the Bill could not be allowed to become law.³ This request was referred on 19th February, 1880, to the Registrar of the Panjab University College, to be placed before the Senate.⁴ Sir Robert Egerton, the Lieutenant-Governor, thought that the resolutions of the Senate regarding examinations, which had been forwarded with the Registrar's letter of 20th November, 1879, sufficiently provided for the increased stringency which was desired to be introduced in the examinations. He therefore invited the Senate to report at an early date the measures which had been taken to enforce them. He also drew the attention of the Senate to the fact that the Secretary of State was not satisfied that the Schools of Medicine and Law had attained sufficient proficiency to warrant the granting to the University College of the privilege of conferring degrees in these Faculties. On the subject of Law the Lieutenant-Governor stated that he was not sufficiently informed to judge whether this evidence would be forthcoming, and he therefore desired that a report should be submitted which would enable him to decide whether he would be justified in recommending that this privilege should be conferred.⁵

While the Senate and the Executive Committee of Panjab University College were preparing the reports required by

the Secretary of State, the Bill could not be proceeded with, and the impatience of its advocates was renewed. On 13th November, 1880, the Viceroy, Lord Ripon, visited Lahore, when a large deputation, headed by the Lieutenant-Governor, Sir Robert Egerton, and the Maharaja of Kashmir, waited upon him and presented an address, praying that "the Marquis of Ripon would support the pledges given by Lord Lytton, and would repeat the promise to complete at once their great National Institution."⁶

The Deputation particularly brought to the notice of the Viceroy that "as many as 60 undergraduates were now prosecuting their studies for higher Honours in English by the aid of scholarships from the University Funds." They also pointed out that, "of 1,747 students who had presented themselves for the various Examinations in Arts, 1,217 had come up for the English Examinations, and that the number of candidates for the Entrance Examination in English had increased from 26 in 1873 to 193 in the examination for 1880. They trusted that this would be a sufficient reply to any objections that might be raised that the Panjab University College did not sufficiently encourage the study of English.

"A generous encouragement of English is fully consistent with the due encouragement of studies in the national languages, though it was for the development of the latter that the three and a half lakhs, which constituted our endowment, had been so liberally subscribed by the Panjab Chiefs and Gentry. The Senate had no doubt that the proper development of studies in the national languages was the method best calculated to make education really popular, and this was the aim both of the Senate and the Indian Government."⁷

In the course of a very favourable reply Lord Ripon expressed his personal approval of the desire to promote the cultivation and extension of Oriental languages and Oriental literature, and was "inclined to agree with the sentiment that it is through the medium of the vernacular languages of this country that science and literature can most easily be advanced and cultivated."

"I am rejoiced also to find," he said, "that although you mainly desire to promote the cultivation of Oriental languages and Oriental studies, you by no means are inclined to overlook the importance of a solid European education; and that you are not desirous to put aside the cultivation of the English language and English literature and English science.

"I am confident that it is only by advancing both Oriental and English studies that we can hope to bind together more closely the various races which meet upon the common soil of India."

The Viceroy referred to another powerful argument in favour of any request made with the support of public opinion in the Panjab. "You have alluded," he said, "to the great and eminent services which have been rendered to our Queen-Empress and to the State by the regiments which have been raised within the limits of the Panjab. Gentlemen, you could not have addressed to me this evening an appeal that went more straight to my heart, because I had the pleasure this morning to see that combination of Native and European troops, which has ever been, and ever will be, the strength and security of India. I saw those Panjabis who fought so gallantly for their Queen-Empress and their country—those men who have endured conditions the most trying to the native soldier, and have endured them with courage, with patience and with firmness."⁸

This speech was received with great enthusiasm, and it was announced that, in order to show their continued interest in the College, the Council of Patiala would contribute a further Rs. 25,000, in addition to the Rs. 91,230 already donated by the late Maharaja; while the Maharaja of Kashmir, who had taken a close interest in the progress of the University, to which he had already subscribed a lakh of rupees, announced that he would make an annual subscription of Rs. 3,600, representing the interest on another lakh. The Raja of Mandi subscribed Rs. 1,000 a year, and the Nawab of Bahawalpur, who among other help, had enabled the construction of the Senate Hall, promised further assistance.⁹

Truly 13th November, 1880, was a memorable occasion in the history of the University, if only as marking one of the last times on which its general endowment was notably increased.

The movement had received another strong impetus and now proceeded, without interruption or undue delay, to its consummation.

Having received from the Senate of Panjab University College the report for which he had asked, Sir Robert Egerton replied to the letter of the Government of India on 30th March, 1881, asking permission to bring forward evidence of the proficiency of Panjab students in Law and Medicine, with a view to degrees in those subjects being granted at Lahore. He had no doubt that satisfactory evidence of proficiency would be forthcoming, which would enable the Governor-General-in-Council to extend the privilege so as to comprise degrees in those subjects.

The Lieutenant-Governor was not at present prepared to show that the examination necessary for testing the fitness of candidates for degrees in Engineering could be conducted satisfactorily in connexion with the Panjab University College.

In order to show that the system of the Panjab University College had been amended as proposed by the Government Committee, the prospectuses of the various examinations in Arts, as finally adopted by the Senate, were appended to this letter. These prospectuses had been annotated so as to show the resolutions of the Senate, in pursuance of which alterations had been made. In order, however, to show precisely the changes involved in each of these prospectuses, a memorandum had been attached, showing in what respects each of the present examinations was more stringent than those which had been hitherto held.

Sir Robert Egerton was of opinion that a perusal of these prospectuses would show to the satisfaction of the Governor-General-in-Council that the amendments of the system of examination in Arts pursued by the Panjab University College, which were considered necessary by the Secretary of State before the status of a University could be conferred upon it, had been carried into effect. The exami-

nations thus amended were in no way less stringent in their character than those conducted by the University of Calcutta.

The Lieutenant-Governor proposed the following vernacular equivalents for the degrees of M.A. and B.A., to be awarded to candidates passing the examinations for Honours and High Proficiency in the Oriental sections, namely, *Mālik-ul-ulum* and *Bāligh-ul-ulum*, respectively. These titles, which had been suggested by the Faculty of Arts, were the most appropriate which the Lieutenant-Governor was able to select, while they avoided the time-honoured designations denoting proficiency in the English curriculum.¹⁰

The Government of India forwarded the necessary information to the Secretary of State for India, Lord Hartington. With respect to Medicine, Law and Civil Engineering, a provision was inserted in the amended Bill, enabling the Governor-General-in-Council to confer upon the Chancellor, Vice Chancellor and Fellows the power of granting degrees, in accordance with the instructions contained in Lord Cranbrook's despatch of 18th December, 1879.¹¹

On 1st September, 1881, the Government of India informed the Government of the Panjab that the Secretary of State for India had, by a telegram, dated 23rd August, sanctioned the proposed legislation for raising the Panjab University College to the status of a University and giving it power to confer degrees.¹² The telegram of the Secretary of State was followed by a letter to the Governor-General, dated 25th August, 1881, in the course of which he says :

"I concur in your opinion that the College system has been amended as proposed by the Committee, and I sanction your proceeding with the necessary legislation.

"The permission to confer degrees in Law, Medicine and Engineering Science, will, of course, only be accorded by you under the conditions prescribed in Lord Cranbrook's despatch."¹³

The Secretary of State having given his formal sanction to the proposal to raise the Panjab University College to the status of a University, it remained now only to enact the necessary legislation. A draft Bill was prepared by Mr. J. Gibbs, of the Government of India, "to establish and

incorporate the University of the Panjab," with a statement of objects and reasons, and was sent to the Panjab Government for opinion.¹⁴ This Bill embodied those amendments of an original draft Bill of 1877, which had been proposed by the Senate of Panjab University College at its meeting of 21st December, 1878, and reiterated by all, or the great majority, of members of that Senate, when consulted individually between 30th August and 5th October, 1881, as well as further amendments which were later proposed by them either unanimously or by a great majority.¹⁵

The Panjab Government invited the opinions on this Bill of the Secretary to the Financial Commissioner, the Director of Public Instruction, the Government Advocate of the Panjab, Mr. J. G. Cordery, who was now Commissioner and Superintendent, Peshawar Division, and the Registrar of the Panjab University College.¹⁶ They proposed a number of minor or technical variations of the Bill, but none affecting its main principles. These opinions were reported to the Government of India on 17th August, 1882.¹⁷

Meanwhile, on 31st May, 1882, Mr. C. P. Ilbert, on behalf of the draughtsman, Mr. J. Gibbs, sought leave to introduce the Bill in the Council of the Governor-General, Lord Ripon. There were present on the occasion: the Governor-General; the Lieutenant-Governor of the Panjab, Sir Robert Egerton; the Commander-in-Chief: Major E. Baring; Major-General T. F. Wilson; Sir S. C. Bayley; Mr. C. H. T. Crosthwaite, Mr. W. C. Plowden; and Mr. W. W. Hunter.¹⁸ It may be noted that the Viceroy's Council at that time included three members who were subsequently to become very famous, namely, Major Evelyn Baring, who had recently become Financial Member, and who, as Lord Cromer will always be associated with the rehabilitation of Egypt; the Legal Member, afterwards Sir Courtney Ilbert, the great constitutional authority; and the famous scholar, afterwards Sir William Hunter.

The Bill provided for the transfer to the University of all the property then held by, or in trust for, the University College. It proposed a constitution of the University and provided that the Governor-General for the time being should occupy the office of Patron, or Visitor—the exact

term was not yet settled—and that there should be a Chancellor, who was to be the Lieutenant-Governor of the Panjab for the time being, a Vice-Chancellor, and a body of Fellows. These Fellows were to be of three classes : firstly, the holders for the time of certain offices, who were to be Fellows *ex officio* ; secondly, persons appointed by the Chancellor as being eminent benefactors of Panjab University, original promoters of the movement in favour of the Panjab University College, or persons distinguished for attainments in literature, science or art, or by zeal in the cause of education ; and thirdly, the representatives for the time being with the Government of the Panjab of such independent Native Chiefs as the Lieutenant-Governor might, by notification in Gazette, specify. The schedule to the Bill contained a list of the persons who were to be appointed Fellows under the Act.

Other provisions were made in regard to the powers and functions of the Senate. It was to be empowered to appoint and remove all examiners, officers and servants of the University and to confer certain degrees. But it was not to be permitted to confer the degrees of the Bachelor of Laws, Licenciante of Medicine, Bachelor or Doctor of Medicine, or Bachelor or Master of Civil Engineering, until the Governor-General had given his official consent in regard to each of these degrees respectively. There was a temporary provision also, enabling the Senate to confer the appropriate degrees in the case of persons who might have passed during May in that year such examinations of the Panjab University College as might correspond to the degree examinations of the Panjab University. Finally the Senate was empowered to confer honorary degrees in certain cases, to levy fees, and generally to make by-laws in all matters regarding the University.¹⁹

On 14th June, Mr. J. Gibbs introduced the Bill in the Governor-General's Council and moved that it be referred to a Select Committee, consisting of the Lieutenant-Governor of the Panjab, now Sir Charles Aitchison, and Messrs. Ilbert, Crosthwaite, Hunter, and the Mover.²⁰ The report of this Select Committee was presented to the Council of the Governor-General for making Laws and Regulations on 20th

September, 1882,²¹ and the Bill, with the amendments suggested by the Committee, received the assent of the Governor-General on 5th October, 1882.²²

On this occasion Sir Charles Aitchison made a speech in the Council, which so completely expresses the objects of the authors of the whole movement and their satisfaction at its achievement, that it is reproduced in full. He said :

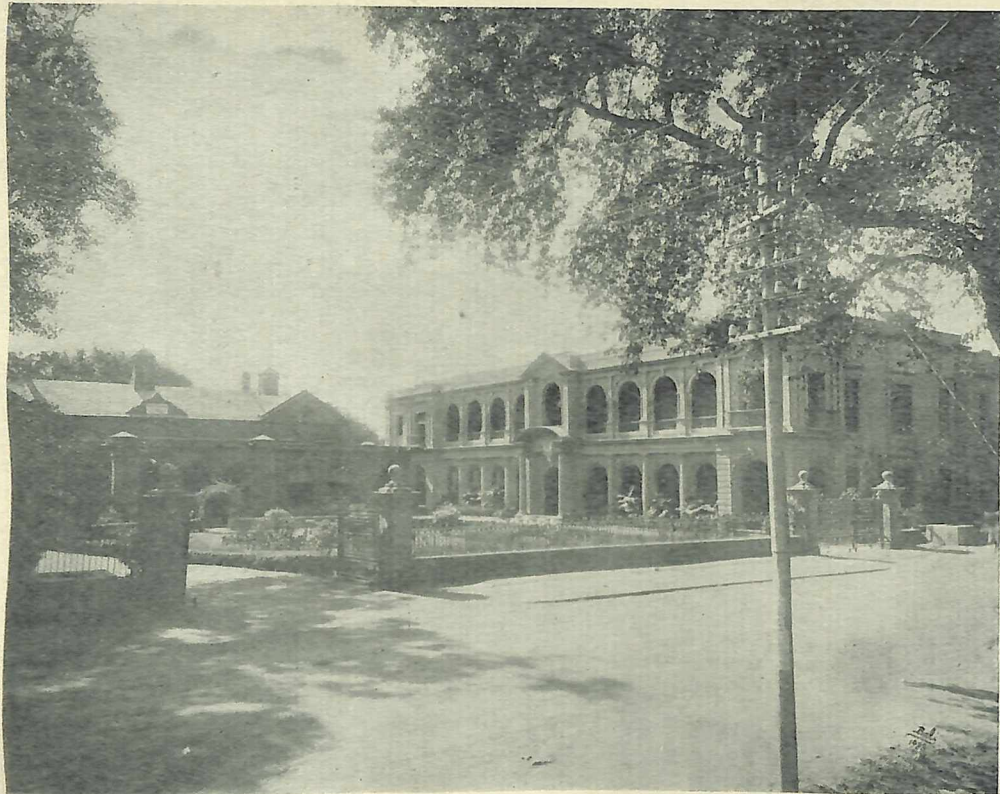
“ I trust the Panjab University Bill will be passed at this sitting of Council, and that I shall be able at last to congratulate the chiefs, nobles and people of the Panjab upon the success which has crowned their efforts after seventeen long years of waiting and working. If any proof be needed of the thorough genuineness of the demand for a University in the Panjab, it is, I think, to be found in the steady perseverance with which, in spite of many and repeated official discouragements and refusals, this object has been pursued by the people, and the liberality with which Natives of all ranks in the Panjab have contributed for its attainment. For the purposes of the University, there is now a sum of no less than Rs. 3,75,000 invested in Government 4 per cent. paper, all derived from voluntary donations, and a regular annual income of about Rs. 45,000 from interest, contributions and fees, exclusive of any support from Government. This is a magnificent illustration of the principle of self-help which Government are now beginning to insist upon as a cardinal point in their educational policy.

“ The movement for a University originated in a letter of the late lamented Sir Donald McLeod, dated 10th June, 1865, in which he called for suggestions for the improvement of Oriental learning and the extension of a sound vernacular literature, by transfusing into the languages of the country the knowledge, literature and science of the West. The subject was at once taken up warmly by a literary society, called the Anjuman-i-Panjab, which had just been founded at Lahore, under the guidance of Dr. Leitner, to whose devotion and untiring services in connection with the University movement it is impossible to give too much prominence. A separate committee of European officers, of whom I had the honour to be one, was at the same time formed at Lahore to consider the question. The suggestions

for the improvement of vernacular literature were expanded by the Anjuman into a proposal for the establishment at Lahore of an Oriental University, which should be a supreme literary, examining and teaching body for Oriental literature and Western science, and which should utilize and develop the existing educational elements in the country.

“ Besides endeavouring to revive an interest in Oriental learning, to teach as far as possible through the vernaculars, and to stimulate the production of original vernacular literature, one of the chief aims of the proposed University which should never be lost sight of, was the introduction of a popular and national system of education on the principles of the Education Despatch of 1854, by giving the people a large and direct voice in the regulation of their own educational affairs. This was very strongly insisted upon by Sir Donald McLeod, who desired as far as possible to promote spontaneity of action on the part of the Native community, and who was opposed to their being too much guided by the opinions and advice of European gentlemen. In the University as now to be established, this popular element is fully secured. The learned and influential classes of the Province will, by the Statutes, be associated with the officers of Government in the promotion and supervision of popular education. The Senate will be a consulting body in all questions of education, including primary education. It will assume, in fact, the position of a Board of Education for the Panjab, and become in educational matters an embodiment of the principles of local self-government as recently enunciated by the Government of India.

“ The name of ‘ Oriental University,’ under which the movement was first started, was in some respects an unfortunate one. It gave rise in some quarters to the belief that the movement was a reaction against high English education and an attempt to revive the controversy between Orientalists and Anglicists, which had been fought out in the time of Lord William Bentinck. To this radical misconception of its objects and aims I believe the long-continued official discouragement and the direct opposition from a limited section of the Native community, which the movement met with, to be mainly due. So difficult, indeed, has



Senate Hall and Hailey Hall.

it been to eradicate this misconception that only a few months ago, a number of English-speaking Natives presented to me a petition against the University on the ground that its establishment would be detrimental to high English education and lower the value of English degrees.

“ In truth, however, the necessity for the highest study of English has been recognised from the very first. In one of the earliest papers published on the subject by the European Committee of support—a paper entitled ‘ Objects and Principles of the proposed Lahore University ’—I find, for example, the following statement :

“ ‘ It may be stated that, although the movement to which the University owes its origin has specially been termed “ Oriental,” yet that, by the use of the term, no revival of the old warfare between the Orientalists and Anglicists is signified. While the revival of Eastern learning and the creation of a good vernacular literature will be the primary object of the University, yet English will be still considered as the natural complement of education, and of the highest value to the native student whose mind has been thoroughly disciplined by a study of his Native classics.’

“ And again :

“ ‘ It has been stated that the present movement is in no way intended to inaugurate a reaction hostile to the present educational system. The advantages of English are so great, as the language of the ruling class, and as a vehicle for the direct communication of modern European thought and science, that it would not only be impolitic and foolish, but fatal to the success of the new University, to attempt to oppose it or limit its influence. It may, moreover, be added that the Natives of India have so keen an appreciation of the advantages they gain from a knowledge of English, that there is no fear of its study being neglected.’

“ Again, at a meeting of those interested in the promotion of the objects of the University, held at Lahore on 12th March, 1868, the following resolution was passed :

“ That education be conveyed, as far possible, through the medium of the vernacular.

“ That while the highest honours of the University be reserved for those who attain the highest form of education, which, it is admitted, can only at present be attained by those possessing a thorough knowledge of English, the University shall also recognize and honour literary merit and learning in the case of those unacquainted with the English language.’

“ Later on, when the Panjab University College was established, the use of English as the medium of examination in all subjects which cannot be completely taught in the vernacular, the study of English in all schools and colleges connected with the institution, and the necessity of a thorough acquaintance with English as a condition of obtaining the highest honours of the institution, were recorded among the fundamental principles in the constitution of the college, as published in the Government of India Notification No. 472, dated 8th December, 1869.

“ Although, therefore, there was no good reason to fear that high English education would be neglected, it was nevertheless just and right that, before consenting to comply with the wishes of the chiefs and people of the Panjab and to raise the University College to the status of a University with power to grant degrees, the Government of India and the Secretary of State should be thoroughly satisfied that examiners, at once competent and independent, could be obtained for a University at Lahore, that a sufficient amount of controlling public opinion could be brought to bear on teachers and examiners through the medium of the Senate, and that the tests to be applied for degrees should not be less severe than in other Indian Universities, and should be an index that the students possessed definite and sufficiently high acquirements. As regards degrees in Arts, these conditions have been fulfilled, and the Secretary of State has expressed himself satisfied with the evidence as to the sufficiency of the tests. The new University, however, will not be empowered to grant degrees in Law, Science, Medicine or Engineering till such time as the Government of India is satisfied that the proficiency of the Panjab students in these branches of knowledge also is equal to that of students who receive degrees from other Indian Universities.

“The interests of high English education and of western science having thus been carefully guarded, it became still more imperative, in framing the University Bill, that the reasonable hopes and expectations of the chiefs and people of the Panjab, who would have taken little, if any, interest in a project for a University of a purely English type, but who are intensely interested in the Oriental aspect of the question, should be satisfied. Anything short of this would not only disappoint the aspirations which they have all along entertained, but would make it impossible to carry out the understanding on which the large funds of the Panjab University College have been collected. Indeed, the whole controversy regarding the status of the proposed University has really centred in the assumed impossibility of securing this essential object without lowering the English standard or confusing the Oriental with the English degrees. Sections 12 and 14 of the Bill deal with this question. They are, in my opinion, the most important sections in the Bill, and I trust the Council will be of opinion that they solve the difficulty in a satisfactory manner.

“It will be observed that by these sections a separate Oriental Faculty is created, with power to grant degrees of its own; and, in consideration of the origin and character of the whole movement, the Oriental Faculty is constituted the first Faculty in order of precedence in the University. I cannot describe the object and probable effect of this arrangement better than by reading from the Report of the Select Committee a short extract taken almost verbatim from the letter of the Panjab Government in which the arrangement was proposed:

“At present the Oriental Department in the College is a section of the Faculty of Arts. We propose to empower the Senate to appoint a separate Oriental Faculty, thus asserting, beyond the possibility of mistake, in the constitution of the University, the prominent position assigned to Oriental and vernacular studies. In the Oriental Faculty degrees would be granted as separate and distinct from degrees in the Faculty of Arts as are the degrees in Law or Medicine. For the B. A. and M. A. degrees, English should be the obligatory instrument both of instruction and exami-

nation. For degrees in the Oriental Faculty, in which the vernacular would be the instrument of tuition and examination, we propose the titles of Bachelor, Master and Doctor of Oriental Learning. We would leave the Senate, after the passing of the Bill, to devise precise and detailed rules prescribing the conditions and examinations required for such degrees; and such rules would be submitted, in due course, for the sanction of the Government of India. Here it is only necessary to say that the Oriental degrees would attest general education, that they would be earned by a course resembling as nearly as possible the Arts course, and that they would differ from the ordinary B.A. and M.A. degrees because the Bachelors and Masters of Arts would be obliged to acquire their knowledge in English, while the Bachelors and Masters of Oriental Learning would not necessarily be required to know English at all. They might, of course, learn more or less English at their option. They might even be examined in English as a classical language, should the Senate desire this. But the important point would be that the B.A. and M.A. degrees would not guarantee English qualification.* In this way we think that the wishes of the founders and benefactors of the Panjab University will be properly met, because degrees will be given, as they have always desired, to students who do not know English; while the value to be attached to the degrees in the Oriental Faculty, thus distinguished by an appropriate designation, will not be confounded with that of degrees in Arts, and will be proportionate to the acquirements of the candidates who obtain them as prescribed in the standards of examination.'

"I trust, then, that the misunderstanding between the advocates of oriental and of western culture, in so far as it existed in the Panjab, has been got rid of once and for all by this arrangement, that henceforth both parties will meet on common ground and work together hand in hand for the advancement of all sound educational schemes in the Province, whether English or Oriental.

"I will not longer trespass on the indulgence of the Council, though there are several distinctive features of the

* In this sentence surely in place of B. A. and M. A., one should read B. O. L. and M. O. L.

proposed Panjab University to which attention might usefully be directed, for example, its freedom and catholicity, whereby students of every language or race or colour, no matter where educated, can be admitted to its privileges and honours, provided only they come up to the standards prescribed; its teaching capacity; its literary functions. All these were embraced in the scheme as originally planned in 1865, and are fully provided for in the University as now to be established.

"I will only add that, as I aided in a very humble way to lay the foundation 17 years ago, so now I deem it a great privilege and honour to have been permitted to help in putting on the cope stone of this magnificent edifice."²³

The Panjab University Act (No. XIX of 1882) was published in the *Gazette of India*, dated 7th October, 1882,²⁴ and Panjab University was formally called into existence on 14th October, 1882, by a Notification issued by Sir Charles Aitchison, Lieutenant-Governor of the Panjab, in pursuance of the provisions of the Act of Incorporation.²⁵

The first meeting of the Senate of Panjab University was held at Barnes Court, Simla, on 14th October, 1882. The Chancellor, Sir Charles Aitchison, on this occasion moved "that Dr. Leitner is by reason of eminent position and attainments a fit and proper person to receive from this University the honorary degree of Doctor of Oriental Learning." In a memorandum which he read after proposing the resolution, the Chancellor explained that the honour was proposed, not only on account of Dr. Leitner's services to the University as a principal founder, promoter and officer, but also because of his linguistic attainments and published writings, and of the enthusiasm for education which he had evoked in the Panjab. "Without the help, advocacy and originating power of Dr. Leitner the Panjab, in all probability, would have had no University of its own for many years to come."²⁶

Dr. Leitner had acted as a First Class Interpreter with the British Army during the Crimean War in 1855, and afterwards as Lecturer in Turkish, Arabic and Modern Greek at King's College, London. In 1861, he was appointed

Professor of Arabic and Muhammadan Law in the same College, in which he founded the Oriental Section. His linguistic studies had earned the praise of such a high authority as Professor Max Müller. Since coming to India he had explored part of the country between Kashmir and Badakhshan and investigated certain obscure dialects, opening an interesting field of enquiry. His most considerable published work related to the grammar and vocabulary of the Dard languages. He had also made some investigation of the antiquities of North-Western India and beyond, particularly of the Græco-Buddhist period of sculpture. He had been the president or founder of several learned societies in Europe and India and had represented India at the Congress of Orientalists at Florence in 1878. It was but fitting, therefore, that one of the first acts of the Senate of the newly constituted University should be to exercise the privilege of thus honouring its most active propagator and its most distinguished scholar.²⁷

Panjab University held its inaugural Convocation on 18th November, 1882. A picturesque account of the great day was given in the Journal of the Anjuman-i-Panjab, on which we draw here.

The Viceroy, Lord Ripon, who was Patron of the University, arrived at Lahore from Peshawar early in the morning and, after breakfast with Sir Charles Aitchison, drove through the decorated streets and the Anarkali gardens (Gol Bagh) to Government College. One of the most notable decorations was a miniature *Kutb Minar*, of dark green foliage, with lines of yellow marigolds, which rose from the centre of Anarkali bandstand. "The thanks of the Senate," writes the enthusiastic chronicler, "are justly due to Mr. Bull and his assistants" for this and other splendours.

"It must be acknowledged also," he generously admits, "that inside the Hall itself there was little or nothing to complain of." The Patron and the Chancellor sat in gilt chairs upon a dais covered with a gold-embroidered *masnad* of crimson velvet, beneath a baldaquin of the same materials surmounted by a relief medallion, in gilt, of the Queen-Empress and the armorial bearings of the Panjab. Its

frieze bore the mottoes, *Ex Oriente Lux* and *Crescat e Fluviiis*. "To right and left of this richly dight throne," says the rapt recorder, "sat the Fellows, the Nawab of Bahawalpur, the young Raja of Kapurthala and the Raja of Faridkot sitting to the right of the Patron." This gorgeous dais was the work of J. L. Kipling, Principal of the School of Arts and father of Mr. Rudyard Kipling, who was then employed upon *The Civil and Military Gazette*.

In front of the dais were ranged the graduates, scholars and visitors. The European members of the University were sombrely arrayed in morning garments, but the Indians "were brilliant, if not splendid, in white, yellow, and green. Distinctions are made in the braids and borderings of these dresses to indicate the standard of examinations passed. The effect of many examinations seems to be to 'make broad their phylacteries and enlarge the borders of their garments.' Among the scholars were some from regions as remote as Bokhara and other parts of Central Asia, with others from Chitral, Swat and unexplored places on the frontier."

The nobles, gentry and intellectuals of the Province were numerously represented, while there was a large attendance of European visitors, "consisting," says the account, "of the élite of the station."

After the Patron, at the invitation of the Chancellor, had declared the Convocation open, Dr. Leitner read in Urdu a summary of the Annual Report. He then received the degree of Doctor of Oriental Learning. There followed the conferring of degrees and rewards, after which Lord Ripon delivered an important speech, in the course of which he said :

"There were two features in the project put forward by the Senate of the Panjab University College which particularly commended themselves to my judgment and approval. One was that you proposed to base this University upon a somewhat different foundation from that on which the other and older Universities of India are based ; and the other was that this scheme had received the cordial support and the generous contributions of so many of the leading natives of the Panjab. When you make the foundation of your studies here, and their main, though by no means their exclusive

object the study of Oriental literature, you are only following the course which we in England have pursued for centuries. The fact that this University presents a marked variety, in the form and scope of its instruction, from those which distinguished the other Universities of India, leads me to regard it as a fortunate circumstance that this younger sister has sprung up in the Panjab. And then again, I hail with the greatest satisfaction the circumstance that this University has been established by the contributions of the Native Princes and gentlemen of this Province. I believe that Indian education will greatly benefit by being largely conducted by natives of India themselves."

"I rejoice to think," continued Lord Ripon, "that this and other institutions of education should be managed and administered, so far as may be, by the leading men of the district, because by this means many a useful and practical lesson of self-help and self-reliance will be afforded, and a valuable training in the management of their own affairs will be given to those who have to do with the conduct of institutions of this description, and thus that great political object which the Government of India of to-day have so much at heart, of aiding and advancing the political training of the people in the conduct of their own local affairs will be greatly furthered and assisted....The time has fully come when it should be one of the foremost objects of the British Government in India to provide, so far as a Government within proper limits can, for the intellectual training and for the social and political development of the people."

The Viceroy then inspected the Senate Hall, and congratulated the Nawab of Bahawalpur on having contributed so largely to its construction. He also inspected the University Library and the English and Vernacular Presses attached to the Hall.²⁸

"The tumult and the shouting dies,

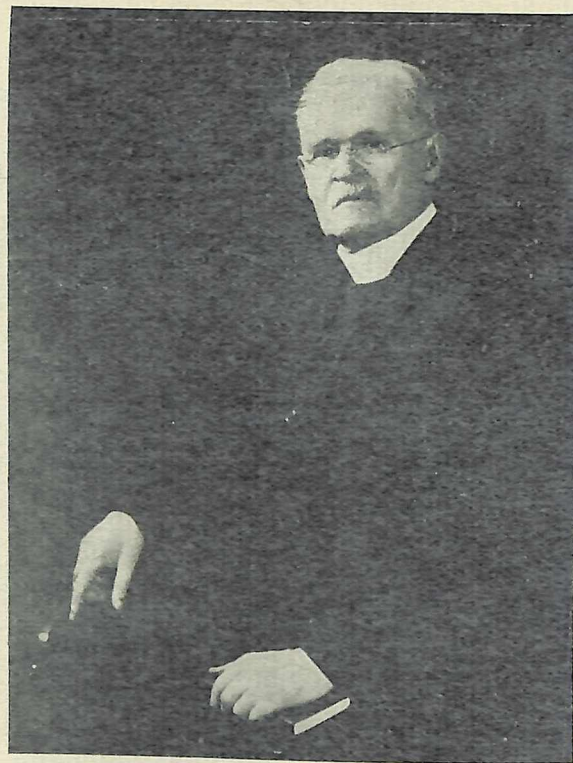
The Captains and the Kings depart."

The coolies reverently remove the velvet trappings gilt chairs and aspidistras. The great day is over.

The long, peaceful campaign, waged by means of ardent propaganda and the stiff, ponderous phrases of official



The Hon'ble Dr. Sir John Maynard, M.A., D. LITT., K.C.I.E.,
 C.S.I., I.C.S., Vice-Chancellor, 1917—1926.



Rev. Sir James Ewing, M.A., D.D., LL.D.,
 Vice-Chancellor, 1910—1917.

correspondence, had ended, after nearly eighteen years, in victory. It had been conducted, in its last phase, against a background of turbulent and resounding events.

In July, 1878, Lord Beaconsfield had returned to London from the Congress of Berlin, bringing, he said, "peace with honour." At that time a committee of the Panjab Government was comparing the standards of examination in Panjab University College and the University of Calcutta. In November Lord Lytton precipitated the second Afghan War, which, after the signing of the Peace of Gandamak, in May, 1879, seemed to him to promise such fair results for his policy. A few weeks later the Lieutenant-Governor of the Panjab was again pressing him to obtain sanction for the elevation of Panjab University College.

Meanwhile, in pursuit of his high imperial policy in another sphere, Lord Beaconsfield's Government had annexed the Transvaal territory and was also fighting the Zulu War. But in September, 1879, Sir Louis Cavagnari was murdered at Kabul and Lord Lytton's 'web of policy' had been 'rudely shattered.' Beaconsfield's flamboyantly aggressive posture was arousing disquietude in Britain and in November, 1879, Gladstone emerged from retirement to conduct the famous Midlothian campaign, which condemned it in every sphere. At that time Lord Cranbrook was preparing the despatch in which he stated the technical conditions upon which, as Secretary of State for India, he would sanction the elevation of Panjab University College to a University. In April, 1880, the Liberals gained an overwhelming majority at a general election and Gladstone promptly formed a government, which aimed at reversing the policy of his predecessor in almost every particular. The new Secretary of State for India, Lord Hartington, expressed his abhorrence of Lord Lytton's policy, and the Viceroy promptly resigned, to be succeeded by Lord Ripon. At that time the Government of India was considering the response of Panjab Government to Lord Cranbrook's despatch.

In October, 1880, Transvaal declared its independence, and another war at once ensued. In March, 1881, Gladstone's Government, for "peace at any price," acknowledged the partial independence of the Transvaal. In April

Lord Beaconsfield died. During the years 1881 and 1882 preparation of the Panjab University Bill proceeded, and in summer, 1882, it was introduced in the Governor-General's Council. In that same summer Arabi Pasha rebelled and war followed in Egypt. On 5th October, 1882, the Panjab University Bill received the assent of the Governor-General—a few weeks after the Battle of Tel-el-Kebir.

“Peace hath her victories.” It was especially appropriate that Lord Ripon should have been concerned, as Viceroy, in the last phase of the peaceful struggle which emerged in the complete establishment of Panjab University and that he should have become its first Patron, for he was a thorough Gladstonian Liberal, who shared all his leader's zeal for social reform and his detestation of swashbuckling adventures.

CHAPTER VI

PROGRESS OF THE UNIVERSITY, 1882-1904.

The full establishment of the University evidently gave satisfaction to all who had sought its achievement. "The new constitution", states a comprehensive report of the movement which was published in the Calendar of the University for 1884-85, "has completely fulfilled the wishes of the donors, subscribers and promoters of the movement. An Oriental University has been combined with an English University. It is thus a national University in the truest sense."¹

From this point our record begins to consist of the prosaic description of academic progress. During its first year the Senate was fully occupied in drafting the statutes and regulations necessary in order to fulfil the intention of the Act of Incorporation, and in advising the Government upon a variety of educational subjects. These subjects included the method of distributing the Government grants-in-aid; the primary standards in boys' and girls' schools; the project of a new Panjabi dictionary; and the nature of test examinations for admission to the public service. "The new institution," wrote Mr. Denzil Ibbetson,* who was acting as Director of Public Instruction in 1883-84, "has already assumed an important position in the educational administration of the Province."²

Already, however, we observe that the public zeal had begun somewhat to flag since the long initial battle had been won. "Unless our annual income can be considerably increased", said the Vice-Chancellor, Mr. Baden-Powell at the second annual Convocation, "the operations, and with them the general usefulness of the University, must be seriously curtailed and crippled. We have some hope that, by private liberality, further gifts and endowments will

* Afterwards Sir Denzil Ibbetson, Lt.-Governor and Chancellor of the University.



be obtained and in particular, that a promise, made in public Darbar* on the occasion of the address of His Excellency the Viceroy, which has not yet been fulfilled, will be acknowledged and carried out.”³

The financial records and management of the University and of the University College caused some misgiving.

The state of the accounts revealed by the report of the Trustees for the year 1883 was so disquieting that it was brought to the attention of the Lieutenant-Governor, and in May, 1884, the Registrar was requested to place it before the Senate. The University was found to be practically insolvent. In February 1885, the Registrar, Dr. Leitner, was instructed by the Syndicate to apply to Government for an advance of Rs. 10,000 to meet the current expenditure of the University. The Lieutenant-Governor not unnaturally regarded this application as a decisive indication that the financial position of the University was unsound. He sanctioned the advance only upon condition that a committee should be appointed by the Senate, which should include the Accountant-General, to examine and report fully upon the accounts of the University for each year since its constitution.⁴

Since the inauguration of the University College at the beginning of 1870, Dr. Leitner had been Registrar, and continued in that capacity for the University until November, 1885. But he was absent during frequent periods, in which various persons temporarily fulfilled his duties. Dr. Leitner alone, however, appears to have been quite familiar with the accounts and routine transactions of the College and at first of the University and he also appears to have prepared obscure financial statements and to have kept a very imperfect written record of the details of University finance. These three factors, namely, the frequent and often prolonged absences of Dr. Leitner, the ignorance of other persons in regard to these matters, and the inadequacy of Dr. Leitner's record of financial transactions, which he apparently supplemented by personal memory, resulted by 1884 in a condition very like chaos and insolvency.

* Cf. p. 70 above.

The Committee demanded by Government was appointed by the Senate at the end of April, 1885, to examine this melancholy state of affairs. The enquiry was conducted chiefly by Mr. D. G. Barkley, Judge of the High Court, Mr. R. T. Logan, Accountant-General, and Pandit Ram Narain. Their conclusions and recommendations were endorsed and approved by the Senate, which expressed its well deserved acknowledgment of gratitude. ⁵

The Committee reported that, though financial conditions had improved since an enquiry had been demanded, they were still far from satisfactory. "It therefore becomes" they recommended, "the imperative duty, not only of the Senate, but of Government to ascertain carefully the causes to which this condition of things is traceable and . . . to apply without flinching such remedies as the circumstances of the case require." This, however, was not easily to be done.

The Committee remarked that the funded account had been practically stationary since the foundation of the University and that, though a Standing Committee of the Senate was strenuously attempting to maintain the annual subscriptions, this latter source of income was fluctuating and precarious. The chief charge should be under the head of Examinations, and until these were completely and satisfactorily provided for, fees from this source should not be regarded as providing income for any other purpose of the University. The Committee found, however, that other departments of the University had been sacrificed in order to provide disproportionately for the extravagant maintenance of the Oriental Faculty.

"It is clear that the Oriental Faculty is *par excellence* the spending department," they reported. "In addition to all other sources of income whatsoever, the Oriental side of the University has absorbed, on an average of four years, more than 26 per cent. of the general Government grant, leaving nothing but the balance of that grant available to meet expenditure of every other kind. It is therefore certain beyond dispute that the statements which have been repeatedly made to the effect that the Oriental Department has not received its fair share of money have no foundation in fact. On the contrary, it may be stated roundly that the

financial embarrassments of the University are due entirely to the inordinate expenditure in the Oriental Department.”⁶

The Lieutenant-Governor, Sir Charles Aitchison, who was a vigorous and consistent supporter of the University, after considering the report of this Committee, expressed his deliberate conclusion in regard to the “vague and reckless way in which it has been asserted that the wishes of the founders of the University have been systematically disregarded, and the general funds diverted from Oriental to English purposes, contrary to the wishes of the donors.”

“It is,” he wrote, “in order, if possible, to bring this vagueness and general assertion to the test of actual fact that the Lieutenant-Governor has endeavoured in so much tedious detail to ascertain what are the real principles on which the University is founded, who were the original benefactors of the University, what was the amount of their contributions to the general fund, and what are the conditions to which those contributions are subject.” He concluded that, “if there has been any departure from the original intention of the founders, the wishes of the principal benefactors, or the conditions on which the University was sanctioned, it has been rather by neglect to give high English education that prominence, side by side with Oriental classics, which was insisted upon from the outset. It is only by purging out all known error from teaching, and by restoring English to the place which it was originally destined to hold, that the Panjab University can prove true to itself and can hope to enrich the vernacular languages and literature, and open up through their medium to the people of India the rich mines of European thought and culture. That it will yet attain to its high ideal, the Lieutenant-Governor does not cease to hope, in spite of the bitter and utterly profitless controversies which have of late impaired its usefulness.”⁷

Sir Charles Aitchison concluded his observations by authoritatively denying various “erroneous assertions which had been promulgated,” that the University had been established by the Anjuman-i-Panjab upon the basis of a college and a school which it had founded in 1865, and that public contributions had depended upon that belief.⁸

It will be seen that the financial affairs of the University College had been conducted in a rather haphazard fashion, which continued in the University until, after other urgent matters had been disposed of, a condition of insolvency was found to be the ultimate result. When an investigation was undertaken, the problem was obscured by an acrimonious controversy which was raised by the false assertion that the University had been founded almost entirely by the efforts of the Anjuman-i-Panjab, that the movement had been supported by the Government of the Panjab and the University College had been sanctioned by the Government of India primarily for the development of the Oriental Department. Apparently this general assertion was made in order to explain financial inroads which might have been made into the general and special endowments of the College—and subsequently of the University—for the sake of the Oriental Department at the expense of all other functions of the University.

The investigation, proved long and tedious, chiefly because of the confusion and incompleteness of the records and financial accounts, and a report was not issued until early in 1886. This report disentangled the special trusts, so far as was then possible, and recommended that the accounts of special endowment funds should henceforth be kept rigorously and separately.

The special committee found that special donations had simply been paid into a general "funded account," and that the income had been paid into a general current account. When a deficit had occurred in this current account, it had been supplied by drawing from the uninvested cash balance of the "funded account." Such withdrawals of capital funds to supply a deficit in the annual current account had been frequent and considerable; indeed, from 1879 they had occurred annually. In March, 1884, for example, Rs. 10,379 had been drawn in this way. Moreover, such casual advantages as the amounts of undrawn salaries and stipends of scholarships, which belonged properly to each special endowment account, went to swell the receipts of the current account. Finally, the current account revealed, on analysis, that there had really been an annual deficit for

a good many years, and that this deficit had been produced chiefly by the extravagance and inefficiency of the Oriental Department, which the Lieutenant-Governor denounced in measured terms.⁹

“This vicious system of accounts”, as it was officially described, was completely revealed by the report, and was remedied as soon as possible.¹⁰ The report of this special committee, with the observations made upon it by the Lieutenant-Governor, had two good effects, namely, in the first place to reaffirm authoritatively the true origins and proper purposes and functions of the University; and secondly, to instigate a much needed reform of the Oriental Department.

The enquiry clearly revealed that Dr. Leitner's administration of the University College and of the University, as Registrar, had been tendentious. He had consistently striven by propaganda and by administrative methods to evade the conditions under which many persons had subscribed money and the Government of India had sanctioned the institution, first of a University College, and later of a University. Lord Ripon's speech* had been quite unequivocal. The Registrar's policy and methods had been equivocal. He retired shortly after the Report was published. The requirement of historical truth, moreover, demands the reflection that, despite his great abilities and his facile sympathy with a popular enthusiasm for the promotion of vernacular and classical Oriental studies, his own contributions to, and promotion of, these objects were more specious than was apparent to his contemporaries.

The grave defects revealed by this enquiry were gradually repaired. The University had, as Sir Charles Aitchison stated, made a false start, and it was some time before the bad effects of this false start were eliminated, for in the following year, 1886-87, gross irregularities occurred in certain examinations, which, in the words of the Chancellor, Sir J. B. Lyall, in his Convocation address in December, 1887, “have grievously shaken the credit and dimmed the reputation of the University.” In the previous series of annual examinations the question papers in the Entrance

* See above page 70.



Oriental College and Maynard Hall.

and Intermediate Examinations had been divulged in advance to candidates at Lahore and Amritsar, and also in the case of the examinations in Law at Lahore. The Registrar's office had to be reorganised and an entirely new staff engaged.¹¹

Plainly the financial and administrative efficiency and the ethical standards of the University, almost at its outset, were seriously defective. Complaints in regard to the Oriental College were made as early as 1883, and attempts were made to remove their cause, but as late as the end of 1887 the Chancellor stated that, "though the condition of the Oriental College is said to have been considerably improved, I believe that much still remains to be done before it can be placed on a really efficient footing."¹²

The serious shortcomings which had been brought to light had probably existed for some years before the incorporation of the University, as the financial investigation showed. The Senate was convinced that the only effective method of removing them was to appoint a permanent, responsible Registrar, and a highly qualified Principal of the Oriental College, "trained by European methods in Oriental literature and philology." The University could not yet afford this double expense; so it was decided to combine these functions, if possible, by the engagement of a single person qualified to fill both. Dr. G. Thibault,* Principal of the Sanskrit College, Benares, was appointed to this dual office in August 1887, but he was soon compelled by ill-health to retire.¹³ In the following year, 1888, the Senate was fortunate to secure as his successor Dr. M. A. Stein, now Sir Aurel Stein, the distinguished Oriental scholar and explorer.¹⁴

Under the new system a definite improvement was effected, largely through the energy and devotion of the Vice-Chancellor, Dr. (afterwards Sir) W. H. Rattigan, to whom in its early years the University owed much gratitude. In his Convocation address on 5th November 1888, Dr. Rattigan declared that the University had passed through "a period of purification and reform. The scandals of the previous year had cast a dark cloud upon the horizon of the

*Afterwards Registrar of Calcutta University.

hopes and fortunes of the University. But, thanks to the firmness displayed by the Syndicate and Senate, the scandals were boldly faced. It is due to this attitude on the part of the governing body of the University that the atmosphere so lately charged with jobbery and corruption has been purified."¹⁵ He referred here, of course, to the deplorable conduct of the administrative office in connexion with recent examinations. He went on to report that "the Oriental College has been reorganised, the classes and courses of teaching have been rearranged, and the teaching staff reconstituted on a more efficient and more economical scale... The fulfilment of this laudable object could not be realised unless the system of teaching were more or less assimilated to the comparative and historical method pursued in Universities of the West."¹⁶ The value of this corrective method was gently emphasised by the Viceroy, the Marquis of Lansdowne, in his Convocation address in the following year, 1889.¹⁷

It is a relief to the chronicler of the University to be able to record that, before it had reached its tenth year, it had outgrown these grievous infantile complaints and pre-natal influences, and that throughout the remainder of its first phase of growth it continued in grace. But the tale of this growth is a rather prosaic story of academic expansion, which must be told in essential outlines.

An analysis of the functions of the University will show how prosaic this task must be; for it was (i) an examining body; (ii) an advisory board of education for the Province; (iii) a learned and literary society; and (iv) an administrator of a college devoted to classical and vernacular Oriental studies, and of a Law school.¹⁸ Its existence as a learned and teaching corporation—which is the quintessence of the conception of a University—was perilously attenuated.

The operations of the University as an examining board were involved in its relations with Government, with institutions maintained or aided by its funds, and with private candidates from within or beyond the Province. The first detailed balance-sheet of the finances of the University is to be found in the Calendar for 1887-88, which shows that the largest single item¹⁹ of expenditure, namely Rs. 22,674,

was upon examinations. (Only one Calendar had been published previously by the University, namely, for the year 1884-85, which, under the heading "Financial," simply states the total receipts and expenditure during the Calendar year, 1882). The third Calendar, for the year 1889-90, gives a brief statement of accounts for the year 1887, from which we learn that, of a total expenditure of Rs. 99,243, Examinations cost Rs. 34,523, and Establishment, Rs. 17,190.²⁰ From 1889-90 Calendars were published annually, and the financial statement shows that in each year upwards of 50 per cent. of the expenditure was upon examinations and establishment during the period now under review.

| The figures for the year ending 31st March, 1902, when the University had been in existence for twenty years, are an interesting evidence of the distribution of its functions. The receipts amounted to Rs. 3,36,026. They included the following items : Balance, Rs. 1,60,449 ; Fees, Rs. 1,19,457 ; Government grant, Rs. 29,380. The expenditure included the following items : Examinations, Rs. 81,002 ; Establishment, Rs. 32,025 ; Balance at the end of the financial year, Rs. 1,67,203. During that year only Rs. 715 were spent on University Libraries, and Rs. 5,271 on endowed readerships and translatorships. The receipts for that year, excluding the balance carried forward, amounted to Rs. 1,75,557, of which 68 per cent. was derived from fees, mostly for examinations. Of the actual expenditure during the year, about 50 per cent. was upon examinations.²¹

It is clear that the University was primarily an examining and administrative board. In 1902 only 27 per cent. of its expenditure was upon instruction and less than one-half of one per cent. upon its libraries. Nothing was spent on the encouragement of literature. In such circumstances it could scarcely hope to attract public benefaction for the advancement of learning. Such benefaction would naturally be drawn to institutions which actually concentrated their entire efforts upon instruction. The last considerable benefaction to the University during this period was, in fact, the gift by the Maharaja of Patiala of the sum of Rs. 50,000 in 1890 for the establishment of University scholarships, to commemorate the visit of His Royal Highness, Prince Albert Victor, to the Panjab.²²

The records of the University during this period are filled with the varying provisions for the conduct of examinations, with the registration of their results and with the consideration of matters relating to standards of examination, which had been referred by Government to the Senate. Thus we read in the Panjab Administration Report of the second year of its existence, that the University has assumed the conduct of the middle school and test examinations; and again, that during this year, 1883-4, "only 96 candidates from the Panjab presented themselves for the Entrance Examination of the Calcutta University, against 106 last year; and of these 34 went up for the Panjab examination also, and 18 were Europeans. For the Calcutta First Arts seven went up, all Europeans; for the B.A. degree two candidates went up from the Government College; while no one presented himself for the M.A. Examination. Thus the Panjab University may be said to have already driven its sister of Calcutta out of the field as regards natives of the Province; while the considerable number of candidates who appeared for its examinations in Oriental languages from institutions beyond the limits of the Panjab show that it is also appreciated further afield."²³

The comment in the same report of 1883-84 upon the activities of the only purely educational institution conducted by the University, namely the Oriental College, reflects a judgment from the same point of view. "Judged by the result of the University examinations the work of the Oriental College during the past year cannot be pronounced satisfactory. The College labours under three disadvantages, want of funds, inefficiency of a portion of the staff and the lack of suitable text books."²⁴ Almost everything was apparently offered to the consuming idol of examinations.

In the year 1888-89 an earnest discussion of the standards of Panjab University examinations took place. The unsatisfactory results—or, in other words, the low percentage of candidates who passed—in the Arts examinations of recent years, were investigated. The causes were found to be chiefly: (i) fluctuations in the standard; (ii) the high percentage of marks, as compared with other Universities, that was required to gain a pass; (iii) that questions were

asked which were beyond the prescribed course, or were otherwise unsuitable.²⁵

A conference of educational officers was held and their recommendations were submitted by Government to the University. Their general complaint was that the examinations at every stage were too difficult for a "youth of ordinary ability who has been taught fairly well." For this reason the examinations "fail to afford to Government, the Education Department, and the public any reliable data on which to judge of the efficiency of public instruction and the educational progress of the Panjab, as compared with other provinces, or even of the comparative merits of one institution in the Panjab as compared with another." Moreover, the complaint of Government asserted that "the Panjab University has fixed a higher percentage of pass marks in each subject than any other Indian University, the difference in the case of the higher examinations being enormous, while the standard of the question papers fluctuates in a manner which is unknown elsewhere." The Government therefore recommended a lowering of standards, "to assimilate them to some extent to the standards adopted in other Indian Universities," and to enable the student of average proficiency to pass.²⁶

In November, 1890, the University agreed to revise its standards by making its tests more lenient, by reducing the number of subjects required, and by reducing the aggregate number of marks required to pass at each grade. The standards, even after this reduction, we are informed, still remained higher than those of Calcutta University.²⁷

This problem and this solution raise a number of important questions affecting University standards of education. In the first place, they reveal the pitfalls of a system of University examination which is almost entirely divorced from a system of proper University instruction. Secondly, they place the heaviest emphasis upon the mere attainment of the minimum standard necessary to give to the student a formal qualification. This inevitably tends to produce a double effect, namely, to induce "mass production" of indifferently qualified students and graduates and to destroy

both the academic and the practical value of the qualifications. Both dangers are too well known to-day to require emphasis. The further danger of such a system is that it produces an academic atmosphere which is hostile to those higher standards of attainment which are the hall-mark of a worthy University.

"I am told" said Sir Dennis Fitzpatrick in his Convocation address on 4th January, 1897, "that the tests of this University are so severe that it has occasionally happened that a student who has failed here has succeeded in England. I understand that there are some persons who would like to see degrees granted here on easier terms, but with those persons I cannot for one moment agree. Even as it is, it is very difficult for the numerous students who obtain degrees here to find an opening in life, and if the portals were to be more widely opened and the standards lowered, I very much fear that a state of things would come about in which we should have University graduates thrown on the world without any prospect of a livelihood." At that Convocation 143 degrees were conferred in all Faculties. In 1931-32 approximately 1,674 degrees were conferred in all Faculties. In the same year, 1932, Mr. F. L. Brayne, I.C.S., stated in a memorandum submitted to the Panjab University Enquiry Committee: "We have reached the absurd position that a well trained barber can earn a far better living than an ordinary B.A. What is wanted is to reduce the number of students taking the B.A. degree by 90 per cent. and to raise the standard of the B.A. by 100 per cent., so that those who graduate will be really well educated and highly intellectual people."²⁸ The number of candidates for the degree of B.A. in 1931-32 was 2,582, of whom 1,049, or about 40 per cent., obtained it.²⁹

It is interesting to read in the Panjab Administration Report of 1901-2: "For all public appointments in the Province there is no lack of candidates with educational qualifications. The University has no Honours Courses for the B.A. degree; the M.A., examination serves, to some extent, the purposes of such a course. This is a matter which has engaged the attention of the University Commission."³⁰

An indication of the vast expansion which has occurred in the examinations of the University is afforded by the following comparisons.

Total Number of Candidates.

	1883.	1904.*	1932.
Entrance ..	386	3,068	20,333
Intermediate ..	50	597	6,175
B. A. and B.Sc.† ..	20	296	2,781
M.A., & M. Sc.† ..	8	37	343

Tables showing the development of the examinations of Panjab University during the period 1883—1932 will be found in Appendices II and III of this volume.

The second function of the University during this period, namely, to act as an advisory board of education for the Province, was strongly emphasised by Government at the outset, and the University was frequently consulted in its early years in regard to such problems.³¹ But as the Department of Education developed and the University became more and more involved in the meshes of its expanding system of examinations, such consultation by Government became less frequent, except in regard to the recognition of teaching institutions which prepared candidates for the various examinations of the University, and the courses of study for and the conduct of those examinations.

A third function of the University, which it had inherited from its forerunner, the University College, namely, that of a learned and literary society, had originally been advanced as one of its most essential and valuable activities. It had been strongly urged by the Anjuman-i-Panjab and Dr. Leitner. For a number of years varying sums were expended in the encouragement of literary works. This was achieved by the award of scholarships, fellowships, readerships and translators to students, with the condition

*The last year in which the University operated under the Act of Incorporation of 1882.

†Panjab University was not empowered to grant degrees in science until 1891. The M. Sc. degree was instituted in 1906.

attached, that they should undertake such work as part of their duty. It was also achieved by the purchase by the University of varying numbers of copies of their publications, according to their merit and usefulness ; and occasionally by the conferring of monetary rewards. But it is significant that in the year 1902 the University had ceased to expend money, at least directly, for this purpose.³²

Such literary and learned fruits of academic paternalism are rarely of outstanding merit. The prize poem or essay is notoriously jejune. It is true that Bryce originally submitted his "Holy Roman Empire" as a thesis for a prize at Oxford ; but this is a very exceptional instance. Advanced theses, especially perhaps in the various sciences, have for a long time contributed to the advancement of learning ; but these have been produced under expert guidance, and the proportion which have a value beyond the personal education of their producers is small. Such conditions as are likely to stimulate valuable contributions of this kind scarcely existed then in the Panjab, and it is highly doubtful whether any of the works which were produced by this system achieved appreciable currency or longevity. They were mostly translations, digests, text-books and grammar books, which scarcely deserved the general appellation of literature or learning in a highly serious sense. That the University gradually ceased to encourage their production, except for the modest purpose of text-books, can hardly be regarded as a dereliction of its duty to the cause of sound learning. Its revival of the practice in its more recent period, with the necessary adjuncts of advanced training and critical equipment, is another story, to which we shall refer later in this volume.

The last important function of the University in this period most nearly approximates to the truest and most universal activity of a University, that is, the direct diffusion and advancement of sound learning. On account of the peculiar circumstances and the particular model—the University of London—which controlled the original creation of universities in India, this quintessential function was too long degraded from its proper position in the forefront in this, as in all Indian Universities.

From the beginning the Panjab University College attempted direct teaching in two spheres, firstly of pure learning in the classical and vernacular languages and literatures of northern India, and secondly, of professional training in Law. The University, which continued this teaching, is still unique among Indian Universities in combining an oriental and a western type of institution. It is perhaps to be regretted that it has isolated these two functions in parallel, self-contained institutions, and that it has never seriously attempted to combine them to their mutual advantage, so that it may become essentially an *Indian University*, and not merely an Oriental College, with a minor western wing—as Dr. Leitner and his colleagues seemed to wish—or a western University with a minor Oriental wing, as it has now become.

The Oriental College, which the University inherited from the University College in 1882, contained two sections, that is, of Oriental languages and literatures, and of general knowledge conveyed through the media of Urdu and Hindi. In the former there were departments of Sanskrit, Arabic, Persian, Gurmukhi and Pashto in the charge of Pandits, Maulvis, Munshis and, in the case of the vernaculars, "Teachers." In the General Knowledge section there was a staff of Assistant Professors and Teachers. This section also included departments for the teaching of science, engineering and the indigenous systems of medicine. The Assistant Professors in the General Knowledge section were required to possess a knowledge of English equivalent to the standard of High Proficiency, that is, B.A.

The College was in the charge of a Superintendent, Dr. Leitner, who was also Registrar of the University and Principal and a professor in Government College. Dr. Leitner's pluralism of functions was probably the chief cause of weakness in the University and Oriental College at that time.

The Oriental Faculty of the University prepared students for the degrees of Bachelor and Master of Oriental Learning. The degree of Doctor of Oriental Learning was conferred *honoris causa*. The training for these degrees was intended to be conveyed with regard for modern comparative methods, which had been developed in Europe and had

been introduced into India at the end of the eighteenth century by Sir William Jones.

In the Oriental College training was conveyed by the traditional methods and Literary Titles were conferred upon those who qualified in the various grades. These were, in descending order, as follows: In Arabic—Maulvi Fazal, Maulvi Alim, Maulvi, Qazi; in Persian—Munshi Fazal, Munshi Alim, Munshi; in Sanskrit—Shastri, Visharad, Pragnya, Pradvivaka; in Gurmukhi—Bhai; in indigenous medicine—Hakim and Vaidya.

Instruction in the vernacular in Civil Engineering was also continued in the College by Lala Ganga Ram,* Mayo Patiala Fellow, assisted by a Drawing Master. This curriculum had been established in the Panjab University College and was maintained throughout this period.³³

During the first six years of the University the conduct of the Oriental College was subjected to severe criticism on the grounds of incompetence of a proportion of the staff, lack of a proper intellectual discipline, and extravagant expenditure which produced unsatisfactory results.³⁴ But in 1888 a reformation was made. Dr. (afterwards Sir Aurel) Stein was appointed Principal; teaching methods and standards were improved and the finances of the College were carefully overhauled. It was placed under the management of a special Committee of the Senate, with the Vice-Chancellor as chairman.³⁵

In the course of this reform the classes in Civil Engineering, which had been maintained in Oriental College for many years, were transferred in June, 1888, to the Mayo School of Art,³⁶ where they were continued throughout this period of the University. They could scarcely have achieved a very high standard, for at the end of the period we read in the annual report of the University for the year 1904-5: "The class is staffed by one teacher only, who is unable to cope with the work of giving instruction to a hundred pupils. An addition to the staff and better and more numerous instruments and appliances are badly needed.... The expenditure on the class was Rs. 854 as usual."³⁷ It is a little difficult to understand why the classes in Civil Engineer-

*Afterwards Sir Ganga Ram, founder of Hailey College of Commerce.

ing were left in such a straitened condition, for the balance of the University in that year amounted to Rs. 93,840.³⁸ The establishment about that time of a Government Engineering School at Rasul would partly explain it.

In the same way the classes in the Yunani and Vaidya systems of indigenous medicine were transferred in May, 1888, with their teachers, to the Medical School.³⁹ Their numbers at the time were small, there being 28 in the Yunani and 8 in the Vaidya class; and they continued at the Medical School to diminish. At the end of 1898 they were transferred once more to Islamia and D. A.-V. Colleges respectively.⁴⁰ From that time the Medical College, as it was now called, trained students exclusively according to the western system.

A school department of the Oriental College was maintained to prepare students for admission to degree and title classes. The college was accommodated during this period in the North-West wing of Government College.

The numbers of students in the College in March 1883, were 299; at the end of 1887-88 there were 135 in the College and 57 in the School Department; in 1895 there were 73 in the College and 51 in the School; in 1901 there were 99 in the College and 49 in the School; in 1904 there were 79 in the College and 41 in the School.⁴¹

On 28th April, 1899, Dr. Stein resigned his position as Registrar of the University and Principal of Oriental College, to become Principal of Calcutta Madrasa, his place being taken temporarily by Professor T. W. Arnold of Government College.⁴² In the following year, 1900, Dr. A. W. Stratton was appointed to succeed Dr. Stein.

Dr. Stratton ably maintained the new tradition set by Dr. Stein, but he died in August, 1902, before he could achieve much, and his place was filled by the appointment of Mr. A. C. Woolner, who assumed the double post of Registrar and Principal of Oriental College in April, 1903.⁴³

During the years of Dr. Stein's direction members of the College staff had begun to contribute valuably to the advancement of Oriental learning. Dr. Stein completed his annotated translation of Kalhana's Chronicle of the Kings

of Kashmir; and Sheikh (afterwards Sir) Muhammad Iqbal, who was appointed McLeod Reader in Arabic in May, 1899, began to produce the series of philosophic and poetic works, which have earned for him so high a reputation.⁴⁴

The Oriental College was throughout this period the chief object of expenditure of the University for purposes of direct instruction. For example, in the year 1894-5 the total expenditure upon instruction amounted to Rs. 40,445. In the same year the expenditure of Oriental College amounted to Rs. 33,132.⁴⁵

The number of students who appeared in all the Oriental examinations of the University remained during this period small, when compared with the number in the western section. In 1901, for example, 403 candidates appeared in all Oriental examinations, while 3,779 appeared in all examinations in Arts and Science.⁴⁶

A Law School had been established by the Anjuman-i-Panjab in 1868. Mr. B. H. Baden-Powell, who was a distinguished authority upon customary law in the Panjab, and afterwards became the second Vice-Chancellor of the University, acted as Law Lecturer in this College for some time, without remuneration. In 1869 Dr. (afterwards Sir) W. H. Rattigan acted also as Law Lecturer. This College under their direction produced a law journal. In 1870 Dr. Rattigan was succeeded by Mr. E. W. Parker, Judicial Assistant at Lahore, under whom the Law School was taken over by the newly founded University College.⁴⁷

Mr. Parker was aided by an assistant lecturer and by teachers of Hindu and Muhammadan Law on the staff of Oriental College. Since 1874 the teaching of law for the training of Pleaders had been taken over entirely from the Judges of the Chief Court, who had framed rules for its conduct.⁴⁸ In the first series of examinations in Law held by the University in December, 1882 there were 165 candidates. On both the English and the vernacular sides there were a First and a Final Examination, each taken at the end of a course of one year.

The Law School was involved in the generally unsatisfactory condition which prevailed in the organisation and

administration of the University during the next four years. Indeed, as we have already noticed in this chapter, a series of enquiries revealed that the organisation was sadly lax, the administration corrupt and the standards of attainment seriously deficient. A scandal in the conduct of the examinations in Law in 1886 emphasised the urgent need of the reformation which was then being undertaken at the initiative of the Vice-Chancellor Dr. (afterwards Sir) W. H. Rattigan.

In 1887 the Syndicate was reconstituted as a real executive committee of the Senate, elected on representative principles, and given the power of quick and effective despatch of business. Faculties were organised under responsible heads and a Board of Studies was established in each. The Rules of the Law School and the Regulations for the control of Law Examinations were thoroughly revised by January, 1888.⁴⁹ The course was extended from two to three years, at the end of which candidates might proceed to the examination for the diploma of Licentiate in Law. The standard of qualification was greatly improved and the staff of teachers was increased. In his Convocation speech in the midst of this era of reform the Vice-Chancellor had reason to express the hope that "we shall be able to satisfy the very reasonable aspirations of the law students of the Panjab and when it will be found possible, to confer degrees in Law upon our successful students, who are now obliged to look to one of the sister Universities for the honour which their own *Alma Mater* is not able to grant them."⁵⁰ It will be seen that the caution of the Government of India and the Secretary of State had been seriously justified. In the next series of examinations in Law the effect of these reforms was appreciable. On the Oriental side there were no candidates. On the English side nine appeared in the Preliminary Examination, of whom seven passed; in the First Certificate Examination 22 appeared, of whom five passed; and in the Licentiate Examination 10 presented themselves, of whom four passed.

In 1891 the University acquired the authority to confer degrees in Law, "a proof", said the Vice-Chancellor, Dr. Rattigan, "that it has completely rehabilitated itself in public

estimation, and now enjoys the confidence of the supreme Government."⁵¹ The degree of Bachelor of Laws was conferred for the first time in 1893.⁵² From that time the Law School continued to develop steadily until the year 1900, when it was reorganised.

Mr. P. Morton, Barrister-at-Law, had been appointed law lecturer in January, 1887, and had continued as a part-time lecturer until 1900, when he retired. In that year there were 329 candidates for the various University examinations in Law, of whom only 23 appeared on the vernacular side. The School had developed to the point at which the Senate decided that it was necessary to appoint a full-time Principal, as well as an additional lecturer. Mr. (now Sir) Shadi Lal, M.A., B.C.L., (Oxon.), Barrister-at-Law, who had recently joined the part-time staff of the School was appointed to act temporarily as Principal until Dr. G. Serrell, M.A., LL.D. (London), arrived in October, 1901, to assume that office.⁵³

The school was reorganised under Dr. Serrell, who was aided by an Assistant Lecturer and four Readers. The total number of students preparing for its examinations steadily declined during these years owing to "various causes which have made the profession of Law in the Panjab less attractive in late years than formerly."⁵⁴ The numbers were as follows :—

		No. of Candidates.	No. Passed.
1899	..	376	245
1900	..	327	157
1901	..	215	142
1902	..	148	102
1903	..	128	97
1904	..	123	73

In June, 1904, Dr. Serrell died, and his duties were carried on temporarily by Mr. Shadi Lal and afterwards by the Assistant Law Lecturer, Mr. C. Gokal Nath.⁵⁵

During this year "the Faculty of Law (in pursuance of the Report of the Universities Commission and of the Circular of the Government which followed upon it) appointed a



Sub-Committee to consider and report what steps should be taken to make the Law College,* in the words of the Government Circular, a model institution of its kind. Various recommendations were accordingly made, but nearly all of them would necessitate additional outlay, to which the University as yet does not see its way."⁵⁶

It was still accommodated in a hired house in MacLagan Road and possessed no hostel. The Officiating Principal complained in 1905 that the students were clamouring for the provision of a hostel, "as they are afraid to live in plague-infected places year after year."⁵⁷

In the same year, 1905, new rules and regulations for the Law Examinations were framed in terms of the recent Indian Universities Act of 1904, which would have a considerable effect upon the curriculum and staff of the College.⁵⁸ The effects of this Act will, however, best be considered in the following chapter.

Having related the development, between 1882 and 1904, of the two institutions by means of which the University provided direct instruction from its own funds and under its direct control, we turn to examine the progress of University instruction by other means.

From a very early stage in their evolution Universities have undertaken the training, in addition to scholars and teachers, of the practitioners of two professions, namely Law and Medicine. In the case of the University of the Panjab the training of medical practitioners has been provided from the beginning, as we have already seen, directly by Government. Since its incorporation the University has simply provided the apparatus of examination for the Medical College by means of a Faculty of Medicine, and has conferred diplomas and degrees which register the results of those examinations. It has never really participated in the control and administration of the Medical College.

Until the year 1887 the University was empowered only to grant the diploma of Licentiate in Medicine to successful candidates trained by European methods, and a series of

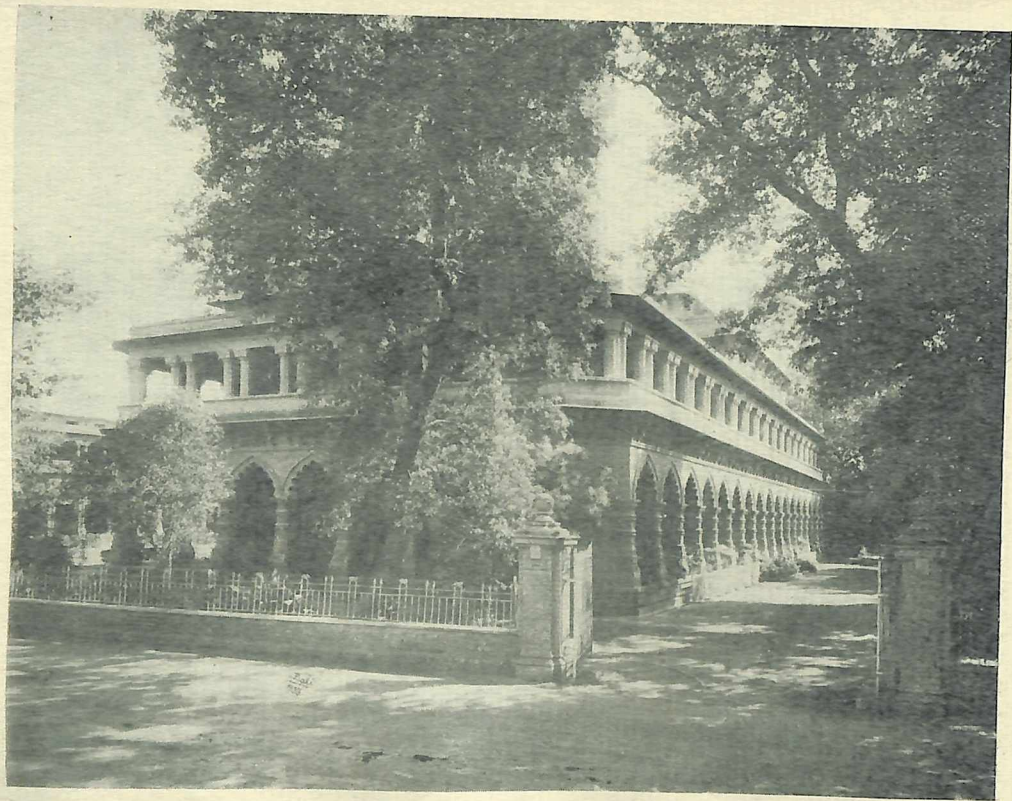
*The title of the institution was changed to "College" at the time of appointment of Dr. Serrell.

titles to successful students trained through the vernacular and partly according to indigenous systems of medicine. Vernacular training with the addition of the Yunani system led to the titles of *Hakim-i-Haziq*, *Umdat-ul-Hukema*, and *Zubdat-ul-Hukema*. When combined with the Vaidak system, it led to the titles of *Vaidya*, *Bhishak* and *Maha-Bhishak*.

In 1886 the Faculty of Medicine prepared a series of Regulations for examination for the degrees of Bachelor and Doctor of Medicine, which were passed by the Senate, and later in the same year the Government of India empowered the University to grant these degrees.⁵⁹ The degree of Bachelor of Medicine was conferred for the first time in 1891, in which year also the title of the inferior diploma was changed to that of Licentiate in Medicine and Surgery.⁶⁰

The growth of the Medical College during the period at present under review is indicated by the following figures. In the year, 1887, (the first year since the incorporation of the University for which we have been able to obtain these statistics) the total number of candidates for all examinations was 48, of whom 12 presented themselves for titles in indigenous Medicine. In 1904 there were 596 students on the rolls of the College, which prepared them only in the western system of Medicine.⁶¹

We have reviewed the teaching functions of the three colleges most directly associated with the University administration during the period in which it operated under the Act of Incorporation of 1882 and have observed how by 1889 it had overcome the troubles with which it was afflicted during its early years. Its reorganisation was shortly followed by its recognition by the University of Oxford on 29th October, 1889, among the Colonial and Indian Universities which are accorded special privileges by Oxford.⁶² This recognition may be regarded as the "hall-mark" of the University, an indication that the training which it now provided in certain subjects was considered sufficient to exempt its graduates from certain previous examinations of the University of Oxford, before proceeding to the final examinations of that University. Panjab Uni-



Law College.

versity was similarly granted affiliation to the University of Cambridge on 3rd January 1896.⁶³

All teaching in the Faculties of Arts and Science was given during this period in colleges which were recognised for the purpose by the University. Such recognition implied only that scholarships granted by the University on the results of its examinations were tenable at these colleges. It did not imply that only candidates from such colleges should be eligible for the examinations conducted by the University. In short, then, in these Faculties the University was merely a board of examiners, which also fixed the curriculum of subjects prescribed for those examinations, but took no responsibility for the education of the students.

At the time of its incorporation, 1882, there were in existence only two colleges which prepared candidates for degrees in Arts and Science, namely, Government College, Lahore, and St. Stephen's College, Delhi. Only one other institution of higher education then existed in the Panjab, namely, Mohindra College, Patiala, which, however, until 1887 prepared students only for the Intermediate Examination in Arts.⁶⁴

Government College was older than either the University or the University College, having been established, as we have already seen, in 1864, and having absorbed Government College, Delhi, in November, 1876. It prepared students for all examinations up to the M.A. standard and provided a wide range of teaching in English, Arabic, Sanskrit, Persian, History, Political Economy, Mathematics, Philosophy and Physical Science. It possessed a highly competent staff, which included, besides Dr. Leitner, Professors J. Sime, C. R. Stulpnagel, P. C. Lewis, and J. C. Oman, upon three of whom, Drs. Leitner, Sime and Oman, the University conferred a doctorate in recognition of the high value of their work. In 1883 the College contained 157 students. (For purposes of comparison, it may be stated that in 1932 its students numbered over 1,000.) In 1884 the professors of Arabic and Sanskrit were transferred to Oriental College, though the transfer was not apparent, for the classes in the Oriental College were conducted in Government College throughout this period.⁶⁵

From the end of 1876, when Government College, Delhi, was closed, until 1882 that city contained no institution for higher education. This was a real cause of grievance to its inhabitants. In 1881, however, the Cambridge Mission, in conjunction with the Mission of the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel, opened St. Stephen's College, which in 1882 became affiliated to the newly established University of the Panjab, preparing candidates for all degrees in the Faculty of Arts up to the M.A.⁶⁶ From the beginning it possessed an excellently qualified staff, which included the Rev. G. A. Lefroy, afterwards Bishop of Calcutta, upon whom Panjab University later conferred the degree of Doctor of Oriental Learning. The College continued to provide many of the best trained candidates for the examinations of the University until 1922, when it became affiliated to the newly established University of Delhi. Its arrangements were made to coincide as far as possible with those of Government College, Lahore; students could be transferred from one college to the other. Indeed, St. Stephen's took the place which had been left vacant by the closing of Government College, Delhi.⁶⁷

In addition to these colleges, the University originally aided several schools in different parts of the Province which prepared pupils for the Entrance or Oriental Examinations, with modest grants, amounting in no case to more than forty rupees a month.⁶⁸

No other colleges were recognised by the University until 1886, when the Lahore Mission College opened classes for the Intermediate Examination. The Panjab Mission of the American Presbyterian Church had long maintained a school at Ludhiana.* In 1866 it had opened College classes at Lahore, which prospered under the direction of Mr. Henry. But in 1869, these classes were closed, largely on account of his death. They were re-opened in 1886 by the Rev. C. W. Forman. The first permanent College buildings were opened in 1889.⁶⁹ About that time the Rev. (later

*An interesting article on this subject, by the Rev. Ross Wilson, M.A., Professor of History in Forman Christian College, is published in Vol. II. Part 2 of the Journal of the Panjab University Historical Society, December, 1933.

Sir) James Ewing, D.D., who was destined to become Vice-Chancellor of the University from 1910 until 1917, joined the staff of the institution, which later became known as Forman Christian College.

In the same year, 1886, the Arya Samaj, which had been founded by Shri Swami Dayanand, opened a school at Lahore, which was named after the founder of the Society Dayanand Anglo-Vedic College. Two years later D. A.-V. College instituted classes for the Intermediate Examination, and in 1893 for the Degree Examination of the University. In 1895 it opened its first M.A. class—appropriately in Sanskrit.⁷⁰

From this time onwards a number of new colleges were founded successively by various private bodies and became recognised by the University. The first of them was the Municipal Board College, Amritsar, which was opened in May, 1888, and recognised by the University one year later. It was established near the Golden Temple and controlled, as its name shows, by the Municipality of Amritsar, under the supervision of the Inspector of Schools, Lahore Circle. It prepared candidates for the Intermediate Examination in Arts for some years; but it never flourished. The mere fact that its cost to the Municipality amounted to only Rs. 100 a month—all other costs being met from fees—reveals its restricted scope and the precariousness of its existence.⁷¹ It was closed in 1901, Khalsa College having meantime been established.

A better fate awaited another institution which was established about this time. In 1886 the Church of Scotland Mission opened a high school at Sialkot, which in 1889 opened classes for the First Arts Examination of the University.⁷² It continued at this standard for twenty years, but since then it has developed into a degree college and has considerably extended its scope.

In 1882 the Sadiq-Egerton Upper School was established at Bahawalpur, which opened Intermediate classes in 1886, and degree classes in 1892. The latter were continued until 1900, when the B.A. classes were closed, not to be re-opened until 1926.⁷³

In 1892 the Anjuman-i-Himayat-i-Islam, Lahore, founded Islamia College in order to provide a national institution which should give young Muslims higher western education, accompanied by religious and moral instruction in their faith. It prepared students only for the Intermediate Examination until 1900, when B.A. classes were opened. Since that time it has expanded its activities to the M.A. and B.Sc. standards in various subjects. It was recognised by the Syndicate for the award of scholarships in 1896.⁷⁴

The next institution to become associated with the University was established at Rawalpindi. The American United Presbyterian Mission already conducted a flourishing high school in that city. In 1893 they added college classes to prepare students for the Intermediate Examination under the name of Gordon College, which was recognised by the University in 1895.⁷⁵ Subsequently this College developed to the degree standard and greatly expanded its scope, equipment and accommodation, becoming one of the most efficient mufassal Colleges affiliated to the University.

A third college in addition to those in Patiala and Bahawalpur, was established in another of the Panjab States about this time. As early as 1856 the Raja of Kapurthala had founded in his state a school, called Randhir College, which added Intermediate classes in 1896, which were recognised by the University two years later.⁷⁶ It has remained at the Intermediate status ever since then.

Another institution founded during those years has, however, since then developed very extensively. A Sikh school was established at Amritsar in 1893. In 1896 it was raised to a high school and in the following year opened college classes for the Intermediate Examination, and in 1899 for the B.A. Khalsa College was established "to impart to Sikh youths an education that will tend to raise the status of the Sikh people, to maintain the Sikh religion, to promote morality and sobriety of life, to develop active habits and physical strength, and to produce intelligent and useful citizens and loyal subjects of the British Crown."⁷⁷ It has become the most prominent mufassal College affiliated to the University.

The tally of colleges for the purpose of providing instruction in subjects of the Faculty of Arts, and in some cases also of that of Science, was increased during this period by the institution of four more, of which one has continued its affiliation with this University; another has become attached to the University of Delhi; the remaining two were closed after short careers.

As early as 1855 the Church Missionary Society opened on the North-West Frontier at Peshawar a high school, which was named after Sir Herbert Edwardes, who had inspired its foundation. It was a fine enterprise, undertaken on that remote and troublous frontier within six years of the end of the hard fought Sikh Wars. At the end of the nineteenth century Edwardes College opened Intermediate classes and some years later degree classes.⁷⁸

Just before the advent of Edwardes College in the list of teaching institutions attached to the University, Hindu College, Delhi, opened Intermediate classes in 1899 and degree classes in the following year.⁷⁹ It remained under the ægis of this University until the creation of the University of Delhi in 1922.

Two other colleges established at the beginning of the present century were short-lived. Victoria College, Lahore, opened in 1901, was closed for lack of support in 1902. In the other case the Church Missionary Society had opened a high school at Amritsar as long ago as 1852. In 1864 it had attempted to establish college classes, but abandoned them in the following year. Once more in 1900 it made the attempt, but again it had quickly to be abandoned.⁸⁰

It will thus be seen that throughout the period from 1882 to 1904 the University acted in regard to the two chief departments of higher education—in the Faculties of Arts and Science—merely as a board of administration and examination. This was a dangerously attenuated function for an educational institution. But, as we shall see, it was not until it had existed for more than a decade under the new dispensation of the Indian Universities Act of 1904, that it began tentatively to assume those functions which are essential in a modern university which properly deserves the name.

Meanwhile, at the end of its first period of existence one more professional institution maintained, like the Medical College, by Government, became directly associated with it.

We have already observed how in 1858, when India passed under the direct government of the Crown, Normal Schools for the training of village teachers had been instituted at Lahore, Delhi and Rawalpindi. In 1881 Government founded a Central Training College at Lahore, which was first set up in the Hazuri Bagh. Shortly afterwards it was located for a time in Government College, which was also still sheltering the Oriental College! In 1887 it was removed to its present site. During its first two decades it appears to have been a humble institution of the older fashion of teachers' training colleges.

In 1903, however, it was somewhat reorganised and affiliated to the University, which instituted a degree of Bachelor of Teaching, to be conferred upon graduates of approved training in the methods of teaching.⁸¹ Like the Law College, it was and is the only institution in the Panjab which is permitted to prepare candidates for the appropriate professional degree. During the second period in the life of the University the standard and efficiency of the Central Training College have been greatly improved, though the period of one academic year allotted to the training of candidates for the degree of Bachelor of Teaching* is perilously short to ensure their efficiency, upon which the education of this Province so greatly depends.

During this first period of its existence it must be confessed that the University did not cut a very fine figure. Its concrete existence was still somewhat shadowy. It possessed one solitary permanent building, the small Senate Hall provided by the Nawab of Bahawalpur in 1874. The two teaching institutions which it maintained, namely Oriental College and Law College, were accommodated respectively in a wing of the Government College building, and in an unsavoury hired building in an insanitary quarter. It attempted no direct instruction in those subjects which

* The course of training at first extended over two years, but, owing to the great demand for trained teachers, it was soon reduced to one year, and since the demand has slackened the two years' course has unfortunately not been re-established.

form the curriculum and create the spirit of a genuine university. The degree of authority which it exercised over the teaching institutions which it recognised was negligible. It possessed no *esprit de corps*. It existed in fact for students only on those intermittent occasions when they answered its examinations or received its diplomas. For mufassal students it was entirely a thing of paper. Even in Lahore there could be nothing in common even between the students of Oriental College and Law College. The events of its life were for the people of the Province abstractions. The intellectual and social life of students was exclusively associated with their own separate, mutually exclusive colleges. Not before the year 1902-3 do we perceive any sign of cohesion. In that year we read in the Panjab Administration Report :

“The experiment of a system of intercollegiate lectures is now being tried in connection with the Government and Forman Christian Colleges at Lahore; the significance of this measure can hardly be overestimated.”⁸² Before that epoch the writer has been able to discover only one sign of incipient corporate consciousness, in a paragraph of the University Calendar of 1898-99, which states: “The University Sports Tournament was held for the first time in December, 1896, the arrangements for its successful management having been conducted by a Special Committee with Mr. Dallinger, Principal of Government College, as Honorary Secretary.”⁸³

Its existence, in short, is reminiscent of that of the Holy Roman Empire in Europe in an earlier period, which was exposed, to Voltaire's jibe: “It is neither Holy, nor Roman, nor an Empire.” The parallel is not without its moral. Napoleon swept the Holy Roman Empire out of existence with a single contemptuous gesture. It was transformed into the Austrian Empire, that patchwork of incompatible and warring elements, which itself disintegrated a century later into units which have some centripetal force.

To attempt even to record the history of the University during these years to 1904, is—as the reader will have discovered much less laboriously than the writer—something of a *tour de force*. By 1904 it had become imperative that,

if it was to continue to exist and gradually to acquire a real life, it should acquire a new objective and a fresh impetus.

In the course of his address at the forty-fifth Convocation of the University the present Vice-Chancellor said : "When I joined the University, this Hall did not exist. We had not even secured the site. The University Library was located in two almirahs. The key was kept by a junior clerk, and the books were only used, I believe, by Dr. Griswold and myself."⁸⁴ These words refer to the year 1903. To Mr. Woolner, coming from Oxford then, it must at first sight have appeared that the University of the Panjab had experienced some strange intellectual explosion, which had shot its sporadic components from Delhi to Peshawar, from Bahawalpur to Sialkot. He soon discovered that the contrary was the case : that these self-contained colleges were in the position of an astronomical nebula, arrested in a process of transition, which should fuse them into unity and condense them into a planetary system.

The Government of India had already in 1902 appointed a Universities Commission, which examined the condition of this and the other four universities which then existed in India, and prescribed a series of recommendations upon which the Indian Universities Act of 1904 was based. This Act inaugurated a new era in the history of the University of the Panjab, which will be examined in the next Chapter.

Meanwhile, it is suggestive to observe that the phases of its fifty years of existence have been marked by three similar investigations—the Indian Education Commission of 1882, the Indian Universities Commission of 1902 and the Panjab University Enquiry Committee of 1932-33. The first and second each preluded a new stage in its evolution. What of the third ?

It will have been observed that the education on the western side which was provided by the recognised colleges associated with the University in this period was generally confined to the subjects of the Faculty of Arts. Teaching had been given in science at Government College, notably by Dr. Oman, but these subjects had been included in the curricula for the B.A. and M.A. Examinations. When the University had been in existence for a decade the Govern-

ment of India suggested the necessity of differentiating the curriculum in Science from that in Arts. "The Panjab University, after long and careful deliberation, adopted an Entrance Examination in Science, different from, and running parallel to, the ordinary Entrance Examination in Arts. This measure led to the need for higher examinations in the same line ; and a complete scheme for the Entrance, Intermediate and Degree Examinations in Science was drawn up, and received the sanction of the Supreme Government in 1894."⁸⁵ Until that time provision had only been made, as under the system of the University College, for a diploma of Higher Proficiency in Science.

The first Entrance Examination for the degree course in Science was held in 1897, when five candidates presented themselves, but none passed. In the following year, in contrast, 13 candidates appeared in the same examination, of whom 12 passed, while two appeared and passed in the Intermediate Examination. In 1899 only one candidate passed the Intermediate Examination ; in 1900, four ; in 1901, nine ; and in 1902, six. In this year, 1902, two candidates graduated in Science, in 1903, two ; and in 1904, three. For the sake of comparison, in 1904 the degree of B.A. was granted to 132 students.⁸⁶ It will be seen that the teaching of science was still in its infancy at the end of the first period in the life of the University. The rapid development of the teaching of the sciences has been one of the most striking aspects of the growth of the University during its most recent stage.

Even at this stage it was beginning to be felt that the facile machinery of examination of candidates from the rapidly increasing colleges would produce, as in the provinces of the older Indian universities, a crop of Bachelors of Arts which could not easily be absorbed in the service of the community, for the degree was valued as a marketable commodity, rather than as a mere indication of the achievement of a high standard of modern education. There had been during the "nineties" a loud outcry against the inhumanly high standard of examinations of the University, an outcry which even Government had supported. The result had been twofold : a lowering of the standard and a correspond-

ing increase in the number of graduates, who not unnaturally regarded their degree as a qualification for superior employment.⁸⁷

Unfortunately the degree of B.A. did not provide an avenue to a wide range of means of livelihood, and graduates were searching in growing numbers for posts for which their training did not specially prepare them. It was found, for example, that the B.A. by no means necessarily made a good clerk. So in 1894 a final school examination, called the Clerical and Commercial Examination, was instituted by the University, which was not intended to lead to higher University studies, but to qualify the pupil for entrance to administrative and commercial offices.⁸⁸

The paradox of University education in India was already beginning to perturb those who controlled this University. In an agricultural province the production of a number of graduates in Arts and Science considerably in excess of the capacity of that province to absorb them in literary and scientific pursuits threatened to create a problem of constantly increasing acuteness. And the fear which was felt at the beginning of this century is the reality of to-day.

At the end of the period under review the outward and visible signs of corporateness began to appear. In 1903 Sir Charles Rivaz, who was then Lieutenant-Governor and Chancellor, granted to the University the site of the Roberts Institute for the purpose of erecting upon it a University Hall. The Government of India gave Rs. 50,000, and Panjab Government gave Rs. 20,000 to assist the erection of this Hall, of which the foundation stone was laid by Sir Charles Rivaz on 4th January, 1905.⁸⁹

In 1903 the Panjab Government also granted Rs. 5,000 to the University to assist it to provide a ground for the University Sports Tournament, which had been held annually since 1896. A plot of *nazul* land on Multan Road was secured for this purpose.⁹⁰

These beneficent activities had no doubt been stimulated by the visit of the Indian Universities Commission, which arrived at Lahore in April, 1902, and held sittings on five



days, examining 26 witnesses, and inspecting all the institutions connected with the University. The investigations of this Commission and the resulting Indian Universities Act, No. VIII of 1904, marked a fresh era in the development of the University, which we shall examine in the next Chapter.



CHAPTER VII

RECENT DEVELOPMENT

1904—1919

On 24th March, 1904, an Act to amend the law relating to Universities of British India—popularly called the Indian Universities Act—received the assent of the Governor-General, Lord Curzon, who had appointed the Commission, upon whose recommendations it was based.

The third clause of this Act, by which the University is still regulated, opened to it a new vista of development. "The University," states this clause, "shall be and shall be deemed to have been incorporated for the purpose (among others) of making provision for the instruction of students, with power to appoint University Professors and Lecturers, to hold and manage educational endowments, to erect, equip and maintain University libraries, laboratories and museums; to make regulations relating to the residence and conduct of students, and to do all acts, consistent with the Act of Incorporation and this Act, which tend to the promotion of study and research."¹

If the authority conveyed by this clause is compared with the preamble of the Act of Incorporation of 1882, it will at once be seen how much more appropriate the new charter is to the growing purposes of the University. The Act of Incorporation had provided for the improvement and extension of Eastern classical languages and literatures and of vernacular literature; the study of the English language and literature and the use of English for instruction and examination in all subjects which could not be completely taught in the vernacular; and the association of the learned and influential classes with the officers of Government in the promotion and supervision of popular education. The University was constituted under that dispensation "for the purpose of ascertaining, by means of examination

or otherwise, the persons who have acquired proficiency in different branches of Literature, Science and Art.”²

By 1904 the University had quite outgrown the limitations of the Act of Incorporation, just as in 1932 it has outgrown many of the limitations of the Act of 1904 ; for it is a living thing, which cannot long be restrained within the rigid provisions of any legal instrument which is enacted to achieve the temporary necessities of one period.

The term, University (*universitas*, in medieval Latin) means, of course, a corporation, and has grown to mean a special sort of corporation for the conservation, diffusion and extension of higher learning. This connotation of the term is clearly indicated in the Act of 1904. Thenceforth the University should exist for the instruction of students, the regulation of their conduct, and the promotion of study and research. For these purposes it is enabled to acquire property for its special purposes ; to appoint teachers, to provide libraries, laboratories and museums ; to control the residence and conduct of students and, by clear implication, to provide such residence and to shape the character of the students ; in short, it is invited by the Act of 1904 to become a real university.³

This clause of the Act of 1904 could scarcely be improved. It indicates a clear purpose and gives wide and elastic general authority to pursue it. But when we examine the other clauses, we become conscious of their serious omissions ; indeed, of a mechanism of administration imperfectly and often wrongly designed to embody the spirit and intention of clause.³ As the Calcutta University Commission stated : “The report of the Commission and the Act of 1904 which was based upon it, aimed not at any fundamental reconstruction of the Indian University system, but at a rehabilitation and strengthening of the existing system.”⁴ The directors of the destiny of Panjab University must have been constantly subject to astigmatism—keeping one eye on clause 3 and the other eye on the administrative machinery prescribed in other clauses.

The unwieldy Senate of the previous period was reduced to a maximum number of 85 Fellows, of whom, in addition to the Chancellor and Vice-Chancellor, ten were appointed



ex-officio, ten were to be elected by the registered graduates,⁵ five were to be elected by Faculties, and the remainder were to be nominated by the Chancellor.⁶ It is true that the old Senate included a large number of Fellows who were scarcely suitable to act as members of the corporate body of the University and to direct its policy. On the other hand the new Act gave Government the power to swamp the Senate by enabling the Chancellor, who is the Governor, to nominate over two-thirds of the Fellows. In actual practice, however, he has nominated Fellows only after obtaining advice as to their personal or official suitability. About three-quarters of the total number of Fellows at the present time are, or have been, personally or officially concerned in the problems of university or college education.

The new Senate remained the Body Corporate and the supreme governing organ of the University, but its functional relation to the Syndicate and Faculties was imperfectly defined, and under the constitution prescribed by the Act, the Faculties became cumbrous, often unsuitable in composition and insufficiently representative of the most highly qualified teachers.⁷ Moreover, when in 1923 an Academic Council was created, it was found impossible under the Act of 1904 to allocate to it the powers and functions which it should possess. Indeed, its official existence is of doubtful legality!

The Syndicate for which the Act provided has been enabled to work reasonably well. But a general and serious defect of the Act has been that it has not provided properly for the distribution of powers and functions amongst the various bodies which administer the University, nor for the adequate representation of university and college teachers as such. The Senate has been charged with such a multiplicity of important functions that its conduct of them has been largely reduced to formality; while the Syndicate has become overburdened with many duties which could reasonably devolve upon other responsible authorities, if proper powers could be conferred upon them; which under the present Act is impossible.

Another notable innovation of the Act related to the affiliation of colleges which prepared candidates for the

examinations of the University.⁸ Before 1904 there was strictly no system of affiliation, certain institutions merely being recognised for the allocation of scholarships. Under the older system the University had vague powers as an advisory board of education. But now the authority to teach any subject to the standard of any of the University examinations above that for entrance had to be conferred on each college by Government, acting upon the advice of the University ; and such authority could similarly be withdrawn. During the most recent period of the University over forty new institutions have been affiliated in this way for various subjects and standards. The University was empowered to control these institutions by a system of periodic inspection and report by authorised committees, upon whose advice the Senate could move Government to exercise necessary discipline. In this system of affiliation a heavy onus of responsibility has rested upon the Syndicate and the number of institutions and subjects has become so large that the inevitable danger has arisen of the control becoming perfunctory and ineffective, with the insidious possibility that these institutions may imperceptibly fall below the standards proper to a university.

The application by the Act of 1904 of the affiliating system to Panjab University created certain difficulties. In 1905 committees of inspection were appointed by the Syndicate to report upon the condition of those institutions which had previously been "recognised" by the University and of certain newly opened colleges which now sought affiliation. "As a result of the inspection," we read in the Administration Report, "it was found impossible to adopt any standard of efficiency that could be regarded as at all permanent without excluding the great majority of the institutions inspected. This would have caused a serious set-back to college education and seemed opposed to the spirit of Section 20 of the Act. A proposal to grant affiliation for two years having been found to be open to legal objections, affiliation was granted in every case, but each institution was called upon by the Syndicate to effect certain improvements within the period of two years."⁹

The Syndicate was confronted by a practical dilemma. It could not refuse applications for affiliation, or impose upon the institutions comparatively severe and expensive conditions, without being exposed to a charge of discouraging the extension of higher education. It could not affiliate an institution temporarily. Therefore it was practically committed to recommending to Government the affiliation of every such institution and could only secure proper conformity to its conditions by subsequently recommending to Government the extreme measure of disaffiliation in cases in which the conditions had not been fulfilled. The University did in fact move Government later to disaffiliate certain institutions either completely or partly*; but it became increasingly reluctant to do so, and the danger that university education may be conducted by many institutions which are defective in staff and equipment, has grown with the rapid extension of affiliation.

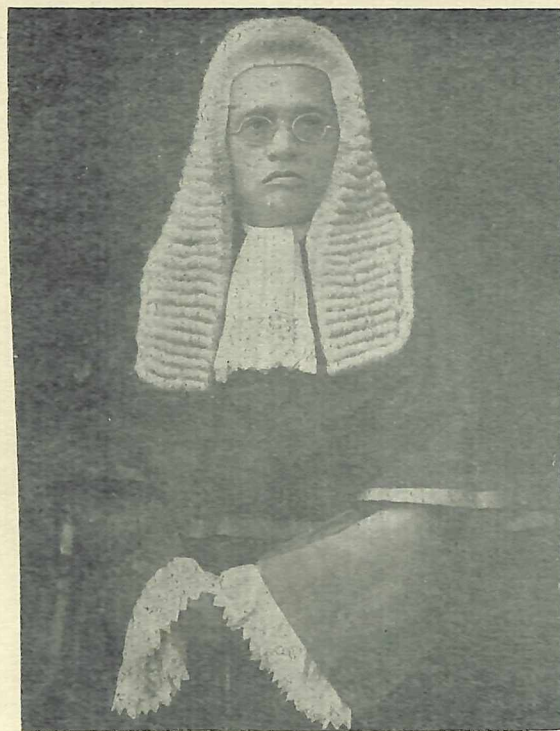
Another problem arose at the outset regarding the jurisdiction of the University in respect of the affiliation of colleges and the examination of candidates beyond the Panjab for Oriental degrees and titles. In regard to colleges in Hyderabad (Deccan) the Government of Madras stated that "if a college in Hyderabad applies to the Madras University for affiliation for ordinary degrees and to the Panjab University for affiliation for Oriental degrees, it will be necessary for each University to judge for itself, after the local enquiry authorised by Section 21 of the Act, whether the conditions of affiliation are fulfilled so far as its own purposes are concerned."¹⁰ This proposal was logical; but the effective inspection of colleges in the Deccan by committees from Lahore could not be regarded as practicable. Nevertheless, the Syndicate of Panjab University "accepted the suggestions of the Madras University as to the affiliation of colleges and schools."¹¹

The attitude of the University of Allahabad was very different. On 20th August 1904, the Government of the

* In 1909 "Bishop Cotton School, Auckland House and St. Bede's College were disaffiliated on the ground that these institutions no longer needed the privileges of affiliation and could not fulfil the necessary conditions. The B.A. Classes of the Hindu College, Delhi, were also disaffiliated."—(Punjab Administration Report, 1909-10.)



Sir Ganga Ram, Kt., C.I.E., R.B., M.I.C.E., M.I.M.E.



The Hon'ble Sir Shadi Lal, Kt., R.B., M.A., B.C.L.
 (Oxon.), Hon. LL.D. (Panjab), Chief Justice of the High
 Court at Lahore.

United Provinces wrote to the Government of India: "The Lieutenant-Governor trusts that in no circumstances will the Government of India allow the Panjab University to have anything to do with any institution within the territorial limits of the Allahabad University. The lower standards of the former University are a constant trouble to the latter."¹²

No objections were raised by the Agents to the Governor-General in Rajputana and in Central India to the extension of the jurisdiction of the University of the Panjab proposed by the Government of India.¹³

The Syndicate of this University rebutted the general implications made by Allahabad University, and forwarded this correspondence to the Senate with a reaffirmation of their opinion as to the proposed extension of jurisdiction. Ultimately, however, it was wisely decided to restrict its jurisdiction to the Panjab and adjacent states and territories; ¹⁴ and in view of the fact that in the year of its Jubilee more than fifty colleges within that area are affiliated to the University, providing by themselves a very complex problem, that decision proved fortunate.

It will be seen that the Act of 1904, instead of radically readjusting the older machinery of administration, imposed upon it new and complicated functions, which, since the phenomenal expansion of the University in the last period, threaten gravely to impair, or even to break down that machinery. But an even more serious defect in the Act was the complete neglect of its framers to realise the response which the University would make to the promise contained in its third clause. Using this clause with a wise instinct, Panjab University has been attempting throughout this period properly to realise its ideal. It has erected essential buildings, appointed its own teachers, and established its own departments, libraries and laboratories for teaching and research. But under the present Act there can be no proper adjustment between this nuclear corporation and the affiliating system. They represent the presence of two quite different policies in the same institution—an antinomy which must be resolved by a new and very carefully devised constitution.

The University began briskly to adjust itself to the new dispensation. In connection with a memorandum by the Vice-Chancellor, Sir Lewis Tupper, dated January 23rd 1904, we read: "A scheme has been prepared and approved by the Syndicate for the organising of the University as a teaching and examining body in the best way possible. This scheme includes the remodelling of the Oriental and Law Colleges, the enlargement of the University Library, the institution of University lectures, and the building not only of the Oriental and Law Colleges, but also of boarding-houses for both of these."¹⁵ This memorandum was composed more than eight months before the Indian Universities Act came into force on 1st October 1904.¹⁶ At the same time the plans for the new Hall were being prepared. There is little doubt, therefore, that the University seized avidly upon the opportunities offered by the third clause of that Act.

The Vice-Chancellor of the period, Sir Lewis Tupper, had a considerable part in effecting this change in the spirit and outlook of the University. In his address to the twenty-fifth Convocation, held for the first time in the new University Hall on 23rd December, 1905, he said: "When in 1854 the Honourable Court of Directors decided to establish Universities in India, the model taken was London University, and the Universities were to be not so much places of instruction as places where the University authorities could test the value of education obtained elsewhere. I do not know how the changes which have been taking place have appeared to other members of the Senate. Speaking for myself, I should say that we have gradually come to take as our models Oxford and Cambridge as they now are, rather than the London University as it was fifty years ago. This we were better able to do because the Panjab University has been from the outset a teaching institution."¹⁷ Sir Lewis Tupper, of course, had in mind the nuclear institution at Lahore.

The University also promptly reconstituted itself under the Act. The new Senate was soon brought into being. In the first week of October the Chancellor nominated fifty Fellows. On 7th November these fifty elected ten more, and the sixty

divided themselves into provisional Faculties of Oriental Studies, Arts, Law, Medicine and Science including Engineering, each of which elected another Fellow. The Chancellor then nominated ten more Fellows, thus completing the maximum number of seventy-five Ordinary Fellows allowable under the Act. To these were added ten *ex-officio* Fellows. On 10th December, 1904, the declaration of the Chancellor that the Body Corporate had been constituted under the Act, with a list of the new Senate, was published in the *Gazette of India*.¹⁸

On the same day a provisional Syndicate was elected, which on 30th January, 1905, approved a joint memorandum of the Vice-Chancellor and the Registrar for making the University more efficient as a teaching and examining body. This memorandum was sent to the Government of India with applications for special grants amounting to Rs.2,94,000, and recurring grants of Rs.87,457 a year.¹⁹ During the years 1905 and 1906 it was, moreover, busily engaged in preparing the Regulations necessary for the administration of the University under the new Act. In November, 1906, a Syndicate was elected for the first time under the revised Regulations,²⁰ and at the same time new Boards of Studies were appointed, as well as committees to conduct a preliminary inspection of institutions which had applied for affiliation to the University.²¹ Thus by the end of 1906 the University had completed the transition to the present régime. The Registrar who largely assisted to effect that transition is now the Vice-Chancellor, Dr. A. C. Woolner.

At the beginning of this period eighteen colleges of various kinds were associated for teaching purposes with the University. There are now fifty-three affiliated colleges, scattered about the enormous area of the University's jurisdiction, which includes the Panjab and North-West Frontier Provinces and the contiguous states. This enormous expansion, which has created the most complex problem of the University, began almost at once. In 1905 the Maharaja of Kashmir and Jammu founded Sri Pratap College, Srinagar, which was affiliated to the University in the following year. In 1907 he also opened Prince of Wales College, Jammu, which became affiliated in 1908.²²

Until 1906 a class in Engineering had been maintained by the University at first in the Oriental College and later in the Mayo School of Art, Lahore. In June, 1906, this arrangement was discontinued and the class was reorganised into a Government School of Engineering, which was affiliated in the Faculty of Science for the First Examination in Civil Engineering.²³ This examination was discontinued in 1916, when the school was apparently closed. Teaching of engineering was resumed with the establishment of the Moghalpura Technical College in October, 1923, which later became known as MacLagan Engineering College and was affiliated to the University in 1931.²⁴

One more college was opened about this time. Sardar Dyal Singh Majithia bequeathed a large estate in landed property to endow the College which was named after him and opened in May, 1910. According to his Will, the College was intended to provide a sound liberal education and "to inculcate pure morality and the principles of Theism consistent with the tenets of the Brahmo religion..... Save as above provided, the said College shall in all other respects be a thoroughly efficient non-denominational College affiliated to the Universities of Calcutta and the Panjab, teaching up to the highest standards and imparting instruction on the same lines generally as the Government Colleges in this country, and looking after and promoting the physical, mental and moral well-being of the pupils."²⁵

In 1912 twenty-one teaching institutions were affiliated to the University, of which four had been created since it was re-constituted under the Act of 1904. These consisted of an Oriental College; three professional colleges and one professional school of engineering; and 16 Arts Colleges. All the professional colleges, but only five of the sixteen Arts Colleges, were situated at Lahore. Of these twenty-one institutions, two were maintained by the University, four by Government, five by various Indian States, five by Christian Missionary Societies, and five by various Indian Societies.²⁶ Thus the University had continued up to 1912 the system which had prevailed since its incorporation, of permitting instruction in all the subjects of its examinations, except in the Faculties of Oriental Studies

and Law, to be given by approved institutions, and refraining from direct instruction by its own appointed teachers. The only modification introduced by the Act of 1904 had been the practice of affiliation, by which the University acquired the right and duty of inspecting its teaching institutions and maintaining a certain measure of control over their teaching equipment and the accommodation and discipline of their students. But in June, 1912, four delegates of the University attended a Congress of Universities of the British Empire in London. These delegates included the Vice-Chancellor, the Rev. Dr. (afterwards Sir) James Ewing, and the Registrar, Mr. A. C. Woolner.²⁷ This Congress definitely affected the policy of the University, which from that time entertained the ideal of becoming a direct teaching corporation. Before considering this new development, however, we shall examine shortly certain other aspects of the history of the University during the immediately preceding period.

A general overhaul of the University naturally ensued upon the constitutional changes made by the Indian Universities Act. The Oriental, Law and Medical Colleges were reviewed. In 1907 revised Regulations for a degree in Medicine were sanctioned by Government. By these regulations the Licentiate in Medicine and Surgery was abolished and the degrees of Bachelor of Medicine and of Surgery were substituted, while a new degree, Master of Surgery, was instituted. Candidates for entrance to the Medical College were now required to have passed the Intermediate Examination in Science and could then proceed to a four years' course in Medicine and Surgery, with three examinations.²⁸

In May, 1907, the Honourable Mr. Justice (afterwards Sir) P. C. Chatterji was appointed Vice-Chancellor and held that office for two years. Addressing Convocation on 21st December, 1907, he said: "The Oriental side of the University is not very popular, and though it takes up a large portion of the income of the University, the results up to the present have not been commensurate with the expenditure."²⁹ A Committee had been appointed in that year to propose plans for the reorganisation of the College

in order to secure greater efficiency and economy,³⁰ but it apparently achieved nothing effective, for in the following year the same Vice-Chancellor again remarked "the diminishing popularity of the Oriental degrees as at present constituted."³¹ He regretted that, though the College had been founded primarily to encourage the development of vernacular literature, "the results obtained were not encouraging" and had given rise to sarcastic comment.

The stumbling block to the development of the Oriental College was the prevalence of an archaic and arid method of learning by rote, which was maintained by the teachers of the old fashion, who were innocent of modern knowledge and critical outlook. The succeeding Vice-Chancellor reverted to the problem in his address to Convocation in December, 1909. "The Oriental College," he gently remarked, "cannot be said yet to have reached its ideal condition. But it is hoped that a scheme may be evolved and carried through, which will provide at once for the preservation of the 'old' learning and what is good and useful in older methods and at the same time for that 'comparative' study which the trained intellect of the day recognises as essential to any true scholarship in any language. This result cannot be said to have been attained yet."³² A more satisfactory condition was achieved only by an expansion of the teaching functions of the University, in which the modern needs of the Oriental College were the first to be provided for.

The Law College also came under scrutiny. "I am grieved to say," declared the Vice-Chancellor, Mr. Justice P. C. Chatterji, in his Convocation address in 1907, "that the affairs of this College are in an unsatisfactory condition. It has no buildings in which to hold its lectures and no boarding-houses for its students. Within the last few years the place of lectures has shifted from the Government College* to a hired building condemned as unsuitable by the College Inspection Committee, and from that house to the side rooms of the University Hall, and thence to the Forman Christian College, where its work is carried on after the

* Until the Age of Building began, the Government College acted as the Orphanage of the University!

work of that College is over. But that the institution is our own which we are bound to keep up, and is the only one for the teaching of Law in the Province, we should be compelled to close it according to our own rules for affiliated colleges.”³³ In 1908 he stated that “the Law College continues in the same unsatisfactory condition.”³⁴

In 1909 the Vice-Chancellor was able to report that “the Law College has at last been put upon a much more satisfactory basis than heretofore. A permanent and efficient staff consisting of a whole time Principal and two professors have been appointed, and the College has been well housed in the new and handsome Bharat Buildings.”³⁵ But it had still to wait some years for the permanent home which it now occupies.

Another step in the development of the University was the assignment to it of a representative in the Legislative Council of the Province in 1908.* In his first address to Convocation as Chancellor Sir Louis Dane said: “As Chief Secretary to Government, I assisted at the birth of the Legislative Council in 1897.... I was therefore very much pleased as one of my first official acts to have been able to recommend an extension of that experiment and to suggest that the University should elect a member.”³⁶

One of the most essential needs of the University, if it was to become a real centre of learning, was the development of its Library. The origin of the University Library lay in the collection of Sir Donald McLeod, some 2,000 volumes, which the University College purchased from him for Rs. 2,500 in 1873. This was a good beginning, but nothing seems to have been done for a generation to augment it. Indeed, when Mr. Woolner became Registrar and Principal of Oriental College thirty years later, the Library had actually diminished to the neglected contents of two almirahs.† Its development during the next thirty years has been due largely to the continuous and active interest of Mr. Woolner.

* A list of these representatives is given in Appendix V of this volume.

† The Oriental College Library, which was maintained separately, was reasonably satisfactory.

The injunction contained in clause 3 of the Indian Universities Act of 1904, "to erect, equip and maintain University libraries, laboratories and museums," marked the beginning of a new period for the Library. During the next two years the Syndicate sought and obtained from the Government of India a special initial grant of Rs.30,000 and a smaller recurring grant for three years for the expansion of the Library. By September, 1909, Rs.36,000 had been spent upon the acquisition of books and fittings. A specially adapted building was clearly necessary, and in 1910 the Syndicate acquired a site in proximity to the Senate Hall and plans for its erection were prepared by Bhai Ram Singh, Principal of the Mayo School of Arts, who also designed the University Hall and Khalsa College, Amritsar, all handsome edifices in the traditional style of North-Western India. The foundation-stone was laid by the Chancellor, Sir Louis Dane, on 27th February, 1911; the building proceeded rapidly and the first portion was formally opened by the same Chancellor in April, 1912. So rapid was the expansion of the Library during the next three years that at the end of 1915 the building had to be extended to the dimensions contemplated in the original plan. The entire building, which was completed in February, 1917, cost Rs.1,60,000. It is a two-storied building of attractive design as the accompanying plate shows.

A month after the laying of the foundation-stone the University Library received a valuable accession from an unexpected source. The late Mr. H. M. Percival, M. A., I.E.S., Professor of English literature, Presidency College, Calcutta, at his retirement in March, 1911, presented to it his collection of 6,500 volumes, which had been accumulated at a cost of about Rs.36,000. This collection has since been maintained separately in the Library. Two other valuable contributions were made about the same time. The late Agha Mohammed Ibrahim in 1913 presented the collection of his father, the late Shams-ul-Ulema Maulvi Mohammed Hussain, Azad, consisting of 1,556 books and 389 manuscripts, mostly relating to classical Arabic literature. Between 1910 and 1931, also, Sir Edward MacLagan, K.C.S.I., K.C.I.E., who was Chancellor of the University



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from 1919 until 1924, has presented a series of 389 numbers of certain valuable journals. The steadily increasing collection of books was classified in 1916 by an American expert, Mr. A. D. Dickinson, who also initiated a class for the training of librarians.

The Library has been continuously improved during this latest period, not only as a collection of books, but also as an instrument for the assistance of study and research, as the writer has had many opportunities to realise. It now possesses 76,562 volumes, including 8,873 manuscripts. Its development has been one of the most admirable aspects of the growth of the University during the past thirty years.³⁷

Another and somewhat surprising project of extension was initiated at this time. In June, 1911, it was proposed to construct an astronomical observatory which should be available to all affiliated colleges. In the following year plans were prepared and Government contributed half of the cost of the proposed building and instruments were ordered from Dublin. Government granted a plot of *nazul* land in the Chauburji quarter and the University Observatory was shortly afterwards erected upon it.³⁸

The year 1912 marks the beginning of a new epoch in the growth of the University—an epoch remarkable not only for its material expansion, but even more for the definite adoption and rapid application of a new and potentially significant policy.

It has been observed that between 1904 and 1912 it had acquired a Hall, a Library and a Sports Ground, to which it had just added an Observatory. The first three of these clearly indicated a logical plan of material development; though the provision at that point of an observatory, when the Oriental and Law Colleges stood in such sore need of provision, is a little difficult to accommodate to that scheme. In 1912 the Imperial Government informed the University that it had sanctioned a non-recurring grant of Rs.2,00,000 and a recurring grant of Rs.35,000 annually for its development. In April the Vice-Chancellor, the Rev. Dr. J. Ewing, presented to the Syndicate a memorandum embodying suggestions for the application of the amount

of this special grant.³⁹ The Syndicate and afterwards the Government of India approved the proposals of the Vice-Chancellor, which the Chancellor, Sir Louis Dane, explained in his address to Convocation in that year. "It is proposed," he said, "to spend Rs.20,000 per annum of the sum available on the establishment of special University lectures in the cold weather. These special lectures should be most valuable adjuncts to our teaching. The permanent improvements contemplated are—

- (i) the construction of the Oriental College on the site adjoining the University Library at a cost of Rs.50,000 excluding the buildings already there ;
- (ii) the acquisition of lands for hostels for the Oriental and Law Colleges at a cost of Rs.1,76,000, a much-needed improvement ;
- (iii) the removal of the outbuildings from the University quadrangle at a cost of Rs.12,000 ;
- (iv) the cost of residence for the Assistant Registrar, Rs.12,000 ;
- (v) the improvement of the Athletic Ground, Rs. 10,000.⁴⁰

It will be remembered that in June a delegation had represented the University at the Congress of the Universities of the British Empire. The effect of this Congress had been actively to reinforce here the idea, which had been germinating for some time, of transforming Panjab University into a real corporation of teachers and students, as had been suggested by the inspiring third clause of the Act of 1904. From 1912 onwards the University began to seek the achievement of this ideal. The steps immediately proposed were three, namely : to revivify and modernise the Oriental studies which had originally been the foremost care of the University ; secondly, to invite a series of distinguished teachers of various academic subjects to sojourn here and impart to local teachers and students the aims and methods of their work ; and thirdly, to erect the fabric and system of a central University body by providing appropriate buildings for the instruction and residence of students, to whom the University might become indeed an *alma mater*.

In regard to the first of these aims Sir Louis Dane foreshadowed not only the construction, after forty-two years, of an Oriental College and hostel, but also an improvement in the methods of instruction and study. "I have feared," he said, "that mere modernity would lead even this University to throw cold water upon Oriental studies. I am glad to think that a wiser and more far-sighted view now prevails and that the University is now devoting a sum of Rs.12,000 a year to augment the salaries of the professors of the Oriental College and so to secure the services of men who, while deeply versed in the traditional learning of the East, have turned the light of western criticisms upon Oriental methods and are in a position to impart to their students what is best of both systems. Government is also alive to the necessities of the case and has created scholarships in Sanskrit and Arabic for men who really mean to study in Europe Western methods of Oriental learning and teaching."⁴¹

During the following year, 1913-14, what was known as the Convent property—the site of the present Law and Oriental Colleges and hostels—was purchased for Rs.2,75,000, and the Oriental and Law classes were accommodated in the building that existed thereon.⁴² Dr. Horovitz was invited to Lahore to lecture on Arabic literature.⁴³ But more important, the University decided to appoint Professors of Sanskrit and Arabic, "who should possess a knowledge of the languages not inferior to a Shastri or a Maulvi Fazil on the one hand and who, on the other hand, had received a sound training in Western methods. In addition to the instruction of advanced classes the Professors were expected to do research work and to assist research students."⁴⁴ Pandit Todar Mal, the Government Sanskrit Scholar, who had studied at Oxford and Bonn, was appointed Professor of Sanskrit and Dr. Azim-ud-Din Ahmad, Professor of Arabic.⁴⁵ It was appropriate that the first two Professors were appointed in classical Oriental studies. At the same time the Syndicate proposed to appoint a lecturer in modern Urdu literature. A long-standing complaint against the system of instruction in the Oriental College was thus removed. The advancement of Oriental studies

was continued a further stage some years later ; but we shall revert subsequently to that development.

The second measure for the improvement of the University which was then undertaken, and which has since led steadily towards its systematic transformation into a teaching corporation, was the decision to invite a series of eminent teachers from abroad to visit Lahore during the cold weather in order to instruct local teachers and students in their methods and the present state of their respective subjects. This was made possible by a special grant of money from Government. The series began in 1912 with the visit of Mr. Daniel Jones, of London, an expert in phonetics. He was followed in 1913 by Mr. Ramsay Muir, who conducted inter-collegiate classes of advanced students, gave public lectures upon historical subjects, prepared a syllabus of studies for the guidance of the University, and presided over a conference of teachers of History, besides making a report to Government upon the organisation and needs of the University.

Thereafter a succession of eminent authorities upon various subjects of University instruction and research visited Lahore, where they pursued a programme generally similar to that of Mr. Ramsay Muir. They included Professor A. Smithells (Chemistry); Dr. Fournier d'Albe (Physics); Professor J. A. Todd (Economics); Professor G. H. Leonard (History); Dr. D. C. Margoliouth (Arabic); Professor J. H. Grace (Mathematics); Dr. O. Elton (English literature); Dr. A. H. Compton (Physics); and Dr. A. P. Newton (History).⁴⁶

These distinguished scholars aroused strong interest in their subjects. But it was felt by some persons that their stimulus was evanescent and that the agency and method of instruction were too restricted in scope and too expensive ; that the application of the funds to the appointment of permanent teachers of high status, and the consequent establishment of teaching departments in the University, would better serve its purposes. Such a view, however, was too limited, and fortunately did not prevail. These men were able together to present a fairly general conspectus of proper University studies and a high standard of attain-

ment and method, which were of great educational value at a time when the University—which then possessed few proper examples in India—was contemplating its own gradual transformation from a mere board of administrators and examiners into a true corporation for the higher instruction of students and the advancement of learning. “The fact,” said Dr. Ewing in his Convocation address in 1911, “that there has hitherto been no University in India exercising to any considerable extent the functions of a teaching body has very materially affected the progress of education.”⁴⁷ In his Convocation address in 1914 he returned to another aspect of the same theme, pointing out how the dominating influence of examinations which were not sufficiently related to a system of teaching led to a deadening mechanical reproduction of texts, which was the antithesis of genuine education. “The injury wrought sometimes by the misuse of texts,” he said, “is so great that one could almost wish that they might be prohibited rather than prescribed. . . . The student does not expect questions involving an opinion or a deduction of his own to be asked. This is, I believe, a point of vital weakness in our system.”⁴⁸

It was felt that the influence of the University was too mechanical, that university education was in consequence possibly spreading too wide and certainly not rising high enough. Hence arose the determination to establish teaching departments on the western side corresponding to those which had existed for many years in the Oriental College, and which had recently been reformed by the appointment of professors equipped with modern critical methods. The first steps to achieve this were not taken, as we shall see, until 1920; but meanwhile, in 1914 the Syndicate proposed the erection of another building “to provide a suitable place for the delivery of the University lectures which are to be a prominent feature of the future work of the University.”⁴⁹ This plan of erecting a central block of rooms for teaching purposes was never executed.

The project of developing the cultural influence of the University was the subject of an admirable address by the Chancellor, Sir Michael O'Dwyer, in December, 1917. “It

can hardly be claimed as yet, he said, that the University exercises over the cultural development of the Province as a whole that wide and permanent influence that we should like to see. . . . This University has so far realised only very imperfectly the ideal of a teaching University for higher training. It is true that from the start the Panjab University has accepted that ideal, but as the teaching has hitherto been carried on almost entirely in a number of separate colleges with little unity of system or community of ideas and aspirations, the progress towards the ideal of a University training which should bring out the best in its students and start them in life with the distinctive hall-mark of University culture has hitherto been very slow."

"Of the ten Arts Colleges in the Province no less than seven, containing over 80 per cent. of the students, are situated in Lahore, all in close proximity to one another and to the University buildings, in what may be called the University quarter. The conditions for tuition by University agency or intercollegiate arrangements are therefore ideal. They are far more favourable than even in Oxford or Cambridge. . . . I am aware that the relations between those colleges are quite friendly ; but there is so far no real community of effort or ideas ; with one or two slight exceptions each college is a water-tight compartment neither giving assistance to nor receiving assistance from its neighbours ; each is struggling, often with inadequate resources material and intellectual, to provide training for an excessive number of students in all or nearly all of the branches of knowledge covered by the University curriculum."

The Chancellor on that occasion also referred to another aspect of the problem of University education. "I understand," he said, "that the University is now considering proposals for establishing Honours courses in the B.A. and B.Sc. degrees, and clearly if we are to make the best of our intellectual material it is essential that, while not neglecting the average or backward type, we should make special arrangements to cultivate and bring to full intellectual maturity the superior type, for only thus can we hope to raise the general intellectual standard." 50

Little was then attempted in respect of inter-collegiate co-operation in teaching, but in 1918-19 regulations were adopted for the institution and administration of Honours Schools in Oriental Languages, History, Mathematics, Physics, Chemistry, Botany and Zoology. Provision was made in these regulations for the appointment of University Professors and Lecturers and the establishment of Boards of Control. General Regulation 4-A indicates the method which was to prevail. "The teaching in an Honours School shall consist, so far as may be possible, of discussion between teacher and student, guidance in reading and criticism of written work, with attention to the particular development of the individual student. So far as may be possible, it shall exclude the use of text-books and the delivery of lectures intended to be recorded and memorised like text-books."⁵¹ This wise innovation was made largely at the instance of the Vice-Chancellor, Mr. (now Sir) H. J. Maynard, I.C.S., who succeeded the Rev. Sir James Ewing in that office in 1917 and occupied it until 1926.

In 1919 another extension of the University curriculum was made, when an examination was instituted for a Diploma in Commerce, which it was hoped would give place before many years to a degree, and classes were opened in Lahore to prepare students for it.

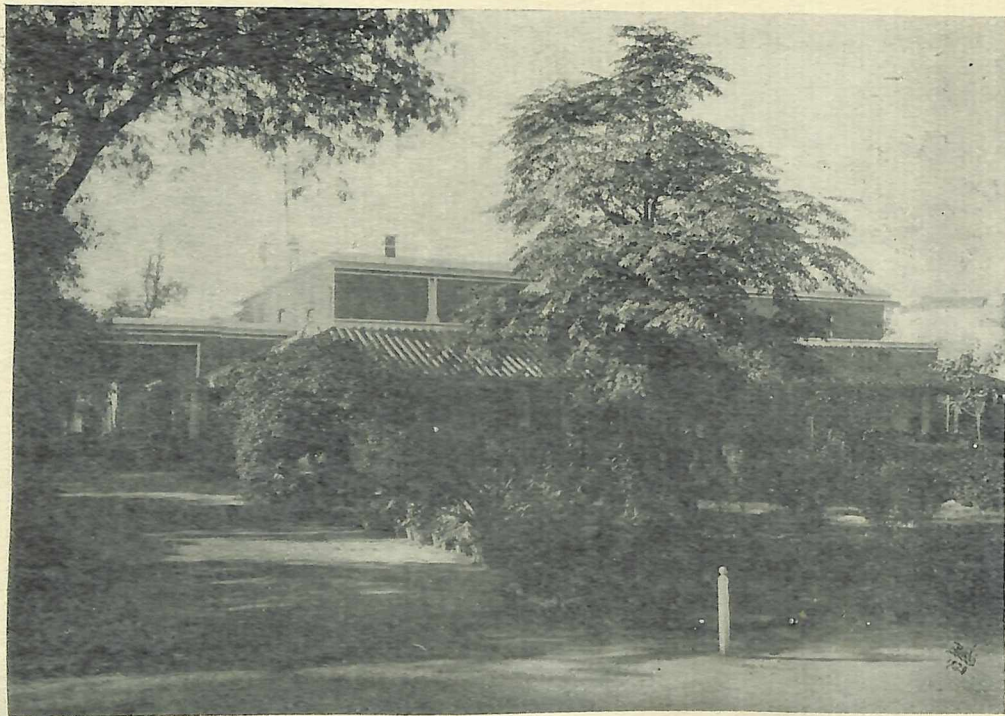
The Great War had been raging during the previous four years, but had had comparatively little direct effect upon the University. In 1917, however, a University Brigade Signal Section was raised by Lieutenant Cowan, who commanded the unit till its disbandment. Its members showed great keenness and by February, 1918, were ready for active service. The section proceeded to the Karun front, where it did excellent work in difficult hilly country. In January, 1919, it returned to India and was disbanded two months later.⁵²

The University was now on the eve of a new era of activity, which had been anticipated for some ten years and was immediately stimulated by the publication of the voluminous Report of the Calcutta University Commission, the Secretary to which, Mr. (now Sir) G. Anderson, was shortly afterwards appointed Director of Public Instruction, Panjab.

During this period, 1904—1919, considerable advance was made in scientific teaching and reserach. The University had been empowered as long ago as 1891 to confer degrees in science, but before 1906 little provision had been made in any college, except necessarily in the Medical College, for its teaching. A department had existed in Government College since the appointment of Mr. J. C. Oman as Professor of Natural Science in 1877. He continued in that post for twenty years, and his teaching was supplemented in 1887 by the appointment of Mr. Ruchi Ram Sahni as Professor of Chemistry. After the retirement of Dr. Oman in 1897, Mr. A. S. Hemmy was appointed Professor of Science in 1898 and became more specifically Professor of Physics in 1906, which post he continued to occupy until his retirement in 1928. In 1906 considerable changes were made.

Since the establishment of the Medical College in 1860 it had provided its own preliminary instruction of students in the sciences basic to Medicine. In 1905 a scheme was prepared for the transference of elementary instruction in science from the Medical College to the curricula of the Science and Arts Faculties of the University. A reorganisation of science teaching in Government College ensued. In 1906 Mr. B. M. Jones, now Principal of the College of Technology, Manchester University, was appointed Professor of Chemistry; ⁵³ Major J. Stephenson, D.Sc., I.M.S., was seconded to the Educational Service and appointed Professor of Biology; and Mr. S. R. Kashyap was appointed Assistant Professor of Biology. The University at the same time instituted the degree of Master of Science in order to provide a curriculum for the introduction of students to methods of research now that competent teachers were available for their special training. This re-organisation gave great impetus to the study of the sciences at Government College, though it was hampered by lack of laboratory accommodation and equipment.

In 1912 Major Stephenson became Principal of the College and Professor of Zoology, while Mr. S. R. Kashyap returned from Cambridge and was appointed Professor of Botany. The success of Major Stephenson in research and in the scientific training of students induced Government



Hailey College of Commerce.

to provide the College with modern laboratories and equipment. The courses in Zoology and Botany were made available to students belonging to other colleges, and Major Stephenson was given the title and status of a University Professor. After his retirement, as a Lieutenant-Colonel in 1920, he continued his research, becoming Lecturer in Zoology at Edinburgh University, and was subsequently elected a Fellow of the Royal Society.

Excellent as the development of the scientific departments of Government College was, it did not entirely supply the needs of the University, and at the end of the period which is the subject of the present chapter the University, with the assistance of Government, developed a large scheme for the expansion of teaching, which included these scientific subjects.

Great improvement was effected in the Medical College during this period. Since 1886 the University had been empowered to grant the diploma of Licenciate in Medicine (L. M.), which was later changed to Licentiate in Medicine and Surgery (L. M. S.). When the Indian Universities Act of 1904 came into force the regulations of the Medical College were considerably revised. The diploma was abolished and the degrees of Bachelor and Doctor of Medicine and Bachelor of Surgery were instituted. The higher degree of Master of Surgery was instituted later. Professional instruction was improved by raising the standard of admission and by the transfer of preliminary teaching in science to other colleges, particularly to Government College. But the greatest improvement consisted of the provision of modern buildings and equipment during the Chancellorship of Sir Louis Dane, 1908—13. This is sufficiently indicated by the following inscription upon the main building of the new King Edward Medical College, as it was henceforth named.

“ This building and other adjacent buildings to this College and the Hospital were erected in memory of King Edward VII, Emperor of India, by the Princes and people of the Panjab in co-operation with Government.

“ The cost was met from a fund inaugurated during the Lieutenant-Governorship of Sir Louis Dane, G.C.I.E., C.S.I.,

and the total outlay amounted to forty lakhs of rupees, of which eighteen lakhs were provided by public subscription.

PRINCIPAL DONORS.

	Rs.
His Highness the Maharaja of Patiala ..	2,00,000
His Highness the Nawab of Bahawalpur ..	1,50,000
His Highness the Maharaja of Jind ..	1,00,000
His Highness the Maharaja of Nabha ..	1,00,000
His Highness the Maharaja of Kapurthala ..	50,000
His Highness the Maharaja of Faridkot and his subjects ..	71,000
Lahore Town and District ..	1,67,000
Delhi Town and District ..	74,000
Sialkot Town and District ..	60,000
Amritsar Town and District ..	60,000
Lyallpur Town and District ..	50,000
Gujranwala Town and District ..	50,000

“This building was opened by His Excellency Lord Hardinge of Penshurst, Viceroy and Governor-General of India, on the 10th December, 1915.”

Since the opening of Dyal Singh College in 1910 eight other institutions became affiliated to the University during the period. In 1913 Islamia College, Peshawar, was established. In the same year Kinnaird High School for girls, which had been founded at Lahore in 1879, opened college classes and became affiliated to the University to the Intermediate standard. This is notable as the first institution established in the Panjab for the higher education of women. In 1916 Sanatana Dharma College was opened at Lahore, and Lady Hardinge Medical College, for the training of female medical practitioners, at Delhi. In 1917 the Guru Nanak Khalsa College, Gujranwala, and Ramjas College, Delhi, were founded. In 1918 Government established the Panjab Agricultural College at Lyallpur, and in 1919 the Institute of Commerce at Lahore to train students for the diploma in that subject which had recently been instituted by the University.⁵⁴

These years from 1904 until 1919 formed a period of active but tentative advancement in the University. It



began to erect a group of dignified buildings, which embodied its growing sense of corporateness and gave it new functions. The Hall, the Library and the Tournament Ground focussed activities which had previously been confined to separate orbits. Distinguished academic visitors had already begun to reveal the advantage—indeed the necessity—of clothing the dry bones of examinations and diplomas with the tissue of higher learning and teaching. The development of Government College, especially in the scientific departments, had helped to stimulate the authorities of the University to extend its own proper academic functions. With the rapid increase in the number of affiliated institutions, it was becoming plain that the lower range of studies in the Arts Colleges would need to be supplemented by a higher range, which it was the duty of the University to create. By 1919 the conviction of this necessity had become complete, and there ensued an epoch of rapid expansion of the functions of higher teaching and research, which has been arrested only by the economic depression of the last three years.



CHAPTER VIII

THE LATEST PHASE, 1920-32

The beginning of each new phase in the development of the University has been marked by an official enquiry into the condition and purposes of one or more of the Indian Universities. The establishment of Panjab University in 1882 coincided with the appointment of an Indian Education Commission. A new period in its development was inaugurated by the Commission of 1902 and the ensuing Act of 1904. The next phase began at the time of publication of the Report of the Calcutta University Commission and will end, presumably, with a review of its conditions and a determination of its plans for the future upon the basis of the Report of the Government Committee of Enquiry under the chairmanship of Sir George Anderson, which examined its state in the Jubilee year, 1932. Its present problems have been made plain, and the logic implicit in its recent development has been explicitly revealed by the Enquiry. It is evident, therefore, that at the end of its fiftieth year the University has once more reached a crucial epoch in its growth.

The evolution of the University during the previous phase had been largely directed by the wisdom of the late Rev. Sir James Ewing, who was Vice-Chancellor from 1910 till 1917. Its course during the most recent phase was similarly laid down chiefly by Sir John Maynard, who was Vice-Chancellor from 1917 until 1926.

Sir John Maynard in his Convocation address in December, 1920, set forth the course of University reform, as actually begun in the Panjab, and as foreshadowed in the advice of the Calcutta University Commission.¹ He recalled how a renaissance had occurred in University education in England about a century previously, which had resulted in the foundation of the University of London upon principles more catholic than those which informed

the ancient Universities of England. It consisted of a group of affiliated institutions, whose students it admitted to its examinations.² The first three Universities of India were founded upon the model of the University of London in 1857. But unfortunately in 1858 the University of London abandoned the affiliating principle and admitted candidates to its examinations without respect to the institutions in which they were prepared, or the nature of their previous education, and this change naturally affected the subsequent course of University education in India, making it an affair of mere examination rather than of education.³ As Sir John Maynard said : "The crammer and the cram-book came into existence, and it was realised that there was such a thing as a knack of success in examinations. The academic world discovered that it had made another mistake, and the London University set about reforming itself into a teaching institution."⁴

The Calcutta University Commission emphasised the misfortune which these circumstances imposed upon higher education in India. "According to the accepted view of almost all progressive societies," their report stated, "a university ought to be a place of learning, where a corporation of scholars labour in comradeship for the training of men and the advancement and diffusion of knowledge. On this definition the Indian Universities, in their first form, were no true universities. They were not corporations of scholars, but corporations of administrators; they had nothing to do directly with the training of men but only with the examining of candidates; they were not concerned with learning, except in so far as learning can be tested by examinations."⁵

Panjab University was founded at a time when this defect was patent in India, and from the outset it had attempted some direct teaching. But since 1904 it had been steadily approaching the practical ideal of a true teaching corporation, and in the year in which the Calcutta University Report was published, it "crossed the Rubicon." "Within the last year," Sir John Maynard stated, "it has engaged professors of its own and has organised the selected teaching power of its constituent Colleges to give University

instruction in certain branches of higher study. It hopes that the new instruction will be instruction of a better kind, with fewer set lectures, closer personal attention and personal tuition and, above all, no text books. By the nature of things only the abler minority among the students can receive University instruction of this kind, and it is only in the Honours Schools and in post-graduate work that it will be given. But improvement in the type of education given to some will tend to influence the practice prevailing elsewhere.”⁶

He realised, however, that there were two sets of difficulties peculiar to the position to which the University had evolved, namely, the relation of this new staff corps of University professors with their departments, to the teaching staffs of the colleges in Lahore; and, assuming that a successful *modus operandi* were accomplished in Lahore the relation of this nuclear corporation at Lahore with the affiliated colleges in the mufassal. “If we would attain our ends,” he said, “we must carry the colleges with us and convince them that our hopes, our ideals, are not incompatible with theirs.”⁷

In regard to the second problem he suggested a tentative, but only a partial solution. “Some of the Colleges outside Lahore,” he said, “have grounds for anxiety. They see the beginnings of an assemblage of University teachers, of the organisation of the best teaching power of the central nucleus of Colleges for the instruction of the ablest of the students who are near enough to reach what is offered. By the nature of things, this power must be concentrated; it would be wasteful if scattered over a dozen centres; but those who are far from the centre cannot draw nourishment from the new sources. They see no gain to themselves in the improvement of instruction in the central nucleus; they may even fear the attractive force which may draw into a new orbit their more promising students. What of comfort or reassurance have we to offer to these distant Colleges?

“Some of them, it is safe to say, will become seats of new local Universities. We may look forward with sure eyes to the narrowing of the territorial limits of our present University as new local or communal Universities—a Sikh

University at Amritsar, a metropolitan Indian University at Delhi, perhaps some day a North-West Frontier University at Peshawar—arise in the north and south.”⁸

Sir John Maynard’s address contained a constructive declaration of policy, in the light of which we must examine the progress of the ensuing twelve years. He had made the crux of his argument the effect of the policy of the University of London. It is well to remember that that University was the subject of enquiry by a Royal Commission under the chairmanship of Lord Haldane, which published a valuable report in 1913. The Great War postponed its consideration and altered conditions so materially that a Departmental Committee of the University of London reconsidered the problems and issued an equally valuable and perhaps more practical report on them in 1924. With the prolonged enquiry and the massive report of the Calcutta University Commission, which was issued in 1919, Panjab University was thus placed in a very favourable position for the development of a progressive scheme of reconstruction, which could scarcely lack the assistance of a wise and comprehensive survey of its general problems.

The new phase was initiated upon a quite large scale during the academic year 1919-20. With the liberal assistance of Government—of which the Vice-Chancellor was Finance Member—funds were provided for the appointment of Professors of History, Economics, Mathematics, Physical Chemistry and Zoology.⁹ Honours Schools in Arabic, Sanskrit, Botany, Zoology and Mathematics were established at Lahore, and in Mathematics at Delhi. A Faculty of Commerce was also instituted.¹⁰ Mr. S. R. Kashyap, Professor of Botany in Government College, was appointed Professor-in-Chief, and Dr. B. Sahni, Professor of Botany in the University. Mr. C. V. H. Rao was appointed Professor of Mathematics, Mr. W. H. Myles, Professor of Economics, Dr. C. L. Boulenger, Professor-in-Chief in the Honours School of Zoology, and Mr. Lakshman Swarup, Professor of Classical Sanskrit in Oriental College; while Mr. G. Matthai, who succeeded Colonel Stephenson as Professor of Zoology in Government College, was nominated a University Professor of that subject.¹¹

Certain changes occurred in this plan and its fulfilment.

A University Professor of History was not appointed. Dr. B. Sahni shortly resigned his post as a Professor of Botany.¹² In the Department of Zoology friction occurred. The laboratories and teaching apparatus had been provided by Government and attached to Government College. After the retirement of Colonel Stephenson in 1920, Dr. C. L. Boulenger was appointed by the University as head of that department, whilst Mr. Matthai, who was given the title and status of University Professor, succeeded Colonel Stephenson in the charge of the laboratory. A practical deadlock ensued. A proposal by the University to erect its own separate laboratory of Zoology was fortunately not executed.¹³ It would have resulted in uneconomic duplication of equipment. The resignation of Dr. Boulenger within one year of his appointment resolved the difficulty; but the episode emphasised the need of establishing harmonious co-operation between the University and its affiliated Colleges in Lahore, in order to secure the most economic provision for competent higher teaching.

In addition to the various University teachers appointed at this time, Mr. Mohammad Shafi had succeeded Dr. Azim-ud-Din Ahmad as University Professor of Arabic,¹⁴ and Mr. Mohammad Iqbal had recently been appointed University Professor of Persian, in Oriental College,¹⁵ while Mr. Woolner, who was Principal of the College and Dean of University Instruction, acted as Chairman of the Board of Control of Oriental Languages.

Owing to the greatly increased complexity of administration, due to the creation of Honours Schools, the establishment of several new teaching departments, and the development of post-graduate instruction by University teachers acting in collaboration with College teachers, it now became necessary to reorganise the administrative office of the University. This was the more necessary because the Vice-Chancellor was the head of the most important department of the Provincial Government. Mr. Woolner was therefore appointed in 1921 Dean of University Instruction, for the purpose of co-ordinating the various academic activities,¹⁶

During these years, moreover, the variety of examinations and the numbers of candidates had increased rapidly. The functions of the Registrar were therefore divided. Mr. P. N. Dutt, R. B., who had been Assistant Registrar since 1902, was appointed Registrar in 1921 and placed in charge of the examinations, Convocation and property of the University, while Mr. Ishwar Das was appointed Joint Registrar, with the duties of financial secretary and secretary to the various authorities and committees of administration of the University.¹⁷ This arrangement continued until the end of 1932, when, upon the retirement of Mr. P. N. Dutt, Mr. Ishwar Das was appointed Registrar and Mr. S. P. Singha was appointed to the new office of Controller of Examinations.

When the report of the Calcutta University Commission was published in 1919 the Government of India summarised its most important conclusions and recommendations in the form of a Resolution, which it communicated to each provincial government with a request that they should be considered by the Government and the Universities. In October 1919 a committee was appointed by the Panjab Government, under the chairmanship of Sir John Maynard, to consider how far those recommendations were applicable to Panjab University. This committee proceeded to discuss the aims and principles which should regulate a reconstruction of the University. They expressed their conclusions in the form of tentative and provisional resolutions, which they suggested should form the basis of discussion by the University and by officers of the various institutions which would be affected, and by the public at large.

The Committee recommended that the present Intermediate Examination should be the stage of entrance to the University. They approved the proposal to create a new type of institution, the Intermediate College, but suggested the advisability, after a period of transition, of maintaining such Colleges quite apart from degree colleges and from the jurisdiction of the University, which, however, should frame their syllabus and conduct their final examinations. Otherwise they should be controlled by a public board, on which the University should be strongly represented,

The Committee opposed any suggestion that the University should be transformed completely or even largely into a unitary teaching corporation; but they approved the gradual reduction of the scope of its jurisdiction by encouraging the development of certain mufassal colleges, especially in such centres as Delhi, Amritsar and Peshawar, with the aim of becoming ultimately independent, unitary teaching universities.

In respect of the government and administration of the University, they recommended more effective representation of institutions intimately connected with the University; communal representation in its authorities; and the creation of an Academic Council, the powers and functions of which they tentatively suggested.¹⁸

This Committee was coldly regarded by the University, which never formally examined its resolutions. The University, on the other hand, considered the Calcutta Report independently. In December, 1919, the Syndicate framed a series of sixteen issues arising out of that Report, which were submitted to a large number of sub-committees and discussed throughout 1920.

At a meeting of the Syndicate on 19th November, 1920, the reports of these sub-committees in regard to the appropriate stage for the entrance of students to the University and its territorial jurisdiction, functions and policy were considered. It then appointed another sub-committee to suggest a detailed plan of a four years intermediate institution," which was prepared and submitted to it at a meeting held on 5th February, 1921.¹⁹

The Syndicate was definitely conservative in its attitude towards a general proposal of reconstruction. It was "generally understood that the changes to be recommended were to be such as did not fall outside the scope of the Indian Universities Act of 1904." A draft letter was prepared for presentation to the Senate, embodying the policy of the Syndicate in regard to University reform. The proposal to make the Intermediate Examination the stage of entrance to the University was rejected. Proposals for the affiliation of four-years Intermediate Colleges should

be considered separately on their merits. The teaching side of the University should be developed to provide for Honours School and post graduate work at Lahore and the supervision of Honours teaching in the mufassal. "The University desires the liberalisation of the system of its governance, and will shortly proceed to work out detailed proposals to this end." The University is not prepared to advise the establishment of an Academic Council which will deal finally with courses of study and other academic questions." Finally the Syndicate in this draft recommended the complete transference of Government College, Lahore, to the University.²⁰

This draft was subjected to much criticism in the Senate and was considerably modified. Finally on 20th April, 1921, the Vice-Chancellor addressed to Government, an official statement of the policy of the University in regard to proposals of reconstruction arising out of the Report of the Calcutta University Commission. Its chief points were as follows :

"The University does not consider it feasible at present to make the Intermediate Examination the stage of entrance to the University."

It would favour the creation of a new type of four-years Intermediate institution "devoted to a practical course of study as distinguished from a literary curriculum"; but it would consider favourably applications for the affiliation of four-years institutions of the latter type.

It desires to encourage the formation of new universities at suitable centres within the present area of the University's jurisdiction; but considers that "it is not desirable to form one University of Lahore and another University for the mufassal Colleges.

"The University considers—

- (a) That there should be no divorce between the higher and the lower teaching above the Intermediate stage.
- (b) That there should be an enrichment and not a limitation in the scope of Colleges, including the Government College, Lahore.

- (c) That the University should provide an academic organisation to co-ordinate and supplement, wherever necessary and practicable, the teaching given by the Colleges."

"The University approves the continuance and extension of the present Honours School system."

"The University desires the liberalisation of the system of its governance, and will shortly proceed to work out detailed proposals to this end."²¹

In short, the net result of the placing of the Calcutta Report before the authorities of the University was the rather wary acceptance in general principle of a new type of Intermediate College. For the rest, it evidently regarded the proposals as doctrinaire. It made no reference to the suggested formation of an Academic Council. It sought no immediate opportunity for the amendment of the Act of 1904. It preferred to work out its own salvation by the maxim, *Solvitur ambulando*, a method very familiar in the British tradition, which some Englishman has translated, not ironically, as "muddling through."

Meanwhile, on 9th April, 1921, that is, eleven days before the despatch of the above-mentioned letter, which stated to Government the official opinion of the University upon proposals of reconstruction, a Committee was appointed by the Senate "to consider the suggestions which have been or may be made regarding the Honours School system, and to propose any necessary modifications in it."²² This Committee met in October, 1921, under the Chairmanship of Mr. (now Sir) M. Butler. He later withdrew from the Committee upon being appointed Secretary for Education to the Government of India, his place being taken by the Vice-Chancellor, Sir John Maynard. Its principal recommendation, which was forwarded to the Syndicate and Senate in October, 1922, was that, by Regulations to be made under Section 25 (1) and other relevant provisions of the Indian Universities Act, an Academic Council be constituted, containing a substantial representation of teachers, in order mainly to deal with University teaching. The Academic Council was not intended at that time to have

finally authoritative powers. In the opinion of the Committee it should be the function of the Academic Council to deal with all questions relating to University instruction, as defined in the Calcutta Report, that is, "teaching provided and organised by the University, including intercollegiate teaching," and to make proposals to initiate fresh developments.²³

The Academic Council recommended by this Committee was instituted by the Senate, and held its first meeting on 11th April, 1923. It consisted originally of 26 members, with the Dean of University Instruction as Chairman *ex-officio*, and the Joint Registrar as Secretary *ex-officio*. It included the Principals of Arts Colleges in Lahore and of those Colleges in the mufassal whose students received direct University instruction. It also included University Professors, six representatives of the Degree Teachers elected by them, seven members elected by the Senate, and not more than two University Readers to be nominated by the Syndicate. It thus contained substantial representation of teachers. It was, moreover, definitely expected by the University that in academic matters the teachers in the Academic Council would have a larger and larger voice and would ultimately completely control University teaching.²⁴ It was not given co-ordinate authority, but from its institution its recommendations have been very generally accepted by the Syndicate and the Senate.

Thus by its own methods the University adopted two of the chief practical recommendations of the Calcutta University Commission. In regard to the second of these, namely, the institution of colleges of a new type, which should incorporate Classes IX and X of the High School curriculum and the two years of the Intermediate curriculum of the University, the Syndicate appointed a sub-committee to make a detailed recommendation of their requirements.

The sub-committee recommended that this four-years college should be a separate institution, with a corporate life of its own, under the unified control of a Principal; that the staff should include a proportion of trained teachers and of other teachers with high academic attainments;

that there should be in its Intermediate classes a healthy combination of lectures and school methods of instruction ; that for purposes of instruction and residence the institution should be quite self-contained and adequately equipped.²⁵

These recommendations were duly accepted by the Syndicate and the Senate. It is specially interesting to observe that one of the first Intermediate Colleges to become affiliated to the University was the Lahore College for Women, which had been established by Government in 1922.²⁶

The reader of the Report of the Panjab University Enquiry Committee (1933) will observe that its basic recommendation is in effect that a system of higher secondary education very similar to that approved by the University in 1921 should be made universal in the Province. Whether it should be controlled and administered by a University board containing strong public representation, or by a public board containing strong University representation, is a practical consideration of less importance. This logical extension of a University policy already adopted would enable it to concentrate activity in the instruction of students at the proper stage for true University studies. In one of its incorporated colleges, namely, Hailey College of Commerce, it has already adopted this procedure, which is employed also in the Medical College.

The Committee which recommended the institution of an Academic Council also reached the following conclusions :

- (a) That no question of University or co-operative teaching for the Intermediate classes need be considered.
- (b) That it was not desirable to have a separate University for (i) the Lahore group of Colleges and (ii) other Colleges.
- (c) That in view of the history and character of the Lahore Colleges, and of the large number of students and of the expense involved, it was not practicable to transform them into hostels or halls of residence with a view to creating out of the Lahore group of Colleges a University of the type of Dacca, Lucknow or Allahabad.²⁷

The first of these conclusions is generally consistent with the view that the curriculum and method of teaching for the Intermediate Examination are strictly of pre-university type. The second conclusion is incomplete, for the Lahore Colleges were now linked with each other and with University teaching departments, thus already forming virtually a distinct University ; whereas the mufassal colleges were isolated and confined to their own separate resources. It would therefore appear to be both more logical and more practical to conclude that a *dual* system *should* be established, providing for direct, co-operative teaching in the Lahore matrix of colleges and University departments, on the one hand, and for an external side of the University administration, which should supervise and assist the isolated colleges of the mufassal. The third conclusion is indisputable, but there is room for regret that the Committee did not proceed to define the sphere of action of the colleges and the teaching departments of the University, which, apart from the constituent colleges and the science departments, has not yet been consistently attempted.

During the years 1919-1923 the University underwent several significant constitutional changes, as we have seen above. It initiated the system of Honours Schools, appointed a number of Professors, Readers and Lecturers, established direct teaching departments, instituted an Academic Council and affiliated Intermediate Colleges. In the course of this expansion of its functions it naturally considered two problems which were constantly arising out of its rapid growth, namely, (i) the suitability of the general constitution prescribed for it in the Universities Act of 1904, and (ii) the necessity of a general plan for its future development.

By 1924 the constitutional problem had become rather urgent. The Senate still remained the legal body corporate and the supreme authority of the University. Its administrative functions were borne by the Syndicate, which transacted all the important business of the University. The administrative head of the University, the Vice-Chancellor, was a very busy public officer, Sir John Maynard, who was also in charge of the most important department of Government. It is surprising that he could find the leisure

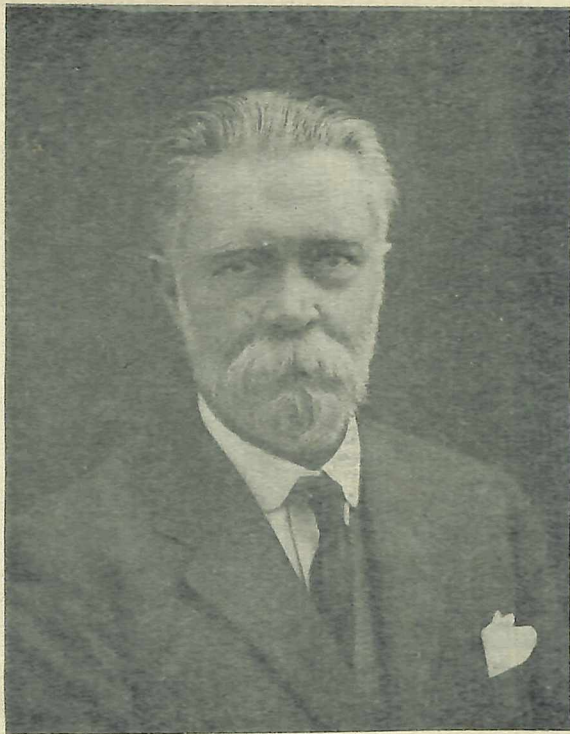
and energy to play so large a part in directing the policy and administration of the University. The main onus rested upon the Syndicate. The Senate was a deliberative body which met infrequently and was compelled by circumstances to register rather summary consent to decisions which had already been made by the Syndicate. Two constitutional problems arose: firstly, the representative nature of the Senate and Syndicate; secondly, the distribution of powers and functions among the controlling authorities of the University.

In May, 1924, the Syndicate appointed a Committee to consider the first of these problems. The Committee proposed in regard to the Senate—

- (i) To increase the elective element and to decrease the nominated element.
- (ii) To provide *ex-officio* Fellowships for certain classes whom it is in practice either very desirable or actually necessary to nominate as Fellows under the existing system.
- (iii) To provide, so far as possible, election by single transferable vote, so that it may be possible for minorities to obtain representation by election.
- (iv) To secure by nomination the means of giving to communities backward in education of the University standard a representation larger than they would be able to obtain under the operation of the proposed provision for the election of Fellows.

For the purpose of a wider election of Fellows the Committee proposed three constituencies: (i) Teachers in the University and in affiliated Colleges; (ii) Headmasters of all recognised High Schools; (iii) an enlarged constituency of registered graduates.

In regard to the composition of the Syndicate the Committee proposed to add to the existing Syndicate one member elected by the Faculty of Agriculture, and one each by any other Faculty in which a College is affiliated to the University.²⁸



Dr. A. C. Woolner, C.I.E., M.A. (OXON.), HON. D. LITT.
(Panjab), Vice-Chancellor, 1928—



His Excellency Sir Herbert William Emerson, K.C.S.I.,
C.I.E., C.B.E., I.C.S., Chancellor, 1933—

The proposals of the Committee were accepted by the Syndicate and placed before the Senate at a meeting held on 8th and 10th December, 1924. At that meeting many Fellows maintained that the proposed constitutional changes were not comprehensive enough and that, as they would in any case involve amendment of the Act by which the University was regulated, a carefully considered general scheme of reconstruction should be proposed to Government. An amendment to this effect was rejected by one vote, and the limited proposal of the Syndicate Committee was subsequently forwarded to the Panjab Government.

After considering the question for some time, Government replied to the University on 22nd October, 1926, declining to execute the proposal on the ground that legislation should be undertaken "only after the whole of the problems presented by the position of the University at the present day are considered."²⁹

This action of the Panjab Government was followed two months later by an address to Convocation by the Chancellor, Sir Malcolm Hailey, on 23rd December, 1926, which was probably the most admirable exhortation ever offered to this University. After portraying in imagination a Panjab of the future, in which many of its present hindrances have been removed or diminished, he proceeded to examine the problems of the University, though not before he made the reservation that "it is no proper test of an Indian University, largely a creation of the modern Indian administration, to compare it with the great western Universities of to-day, dowered by traditions and established in a position built up by centuries of autonomous life."

He propounded a series of earnest questions. "Does the University leave on its graduates an impress clearly attributable to its own influence, which distinguishes them from other educated men? Does it occupy in the public mind any thing in the position of a Court, independent alike of State influence and political prejudices, whose judgment on moral or intellectual issues is respected because of that independence? Can it claim that it has originated or has stood in the forefront of any movement for the elevation of society or the amelioration of social

conditions? Has it so far won its place as an asset in national life as to have become an acknowledged object of private bounty for its support or the expansion of its work?'

Sir Malcolm Hailey propounded these questions in no spirit of carping criticism. He knew that the University was still too young, and had been forced for existence' sake to compromise with too many obstacles, to be able yet to render a proud answer to such exacting questions. But he suggested by implication that its policy should be constantly shaped to meet them. At the risk of a certain amount of misapprehension, due to removing them from their context, certain of his observations may be selected.

"I find somehow," he said, "but few examples of the distinctive University type, the man who knows and shows that he has been 'a citizen of no mean city'....I do not see that the University has yet captured the imagination of the Panjab at large.....I do not find the direct and collective influence of the University combating the sectional partisanship that is clogging our progress.....I doubt if common opinion, to say nothing of expert academic opinion would hold that the curricula it controls and the tests it applies are at the moment those best fitted to broaden the mind, or to cultivate the intelligence."

He then proceeded to what he called "practical politics." "The constitution of the University needs amending in order to give better representation and more authority to purely educational interests. If this change involves a reduction in what has been called 'State control,' I am quite prepared to face this; historically a University is a free association of scholars; if it is to occupy its proper position, it must have academic autonomy. In the second place, the constitution needs amending in order that there may be a more definite and more reasonable distribution of functions between the several authorities of the University, and in order that those responsible for policy may be freed from the vast amount of detail which now encumbers them; the Syndicate in particular appears to me to be working under conditions which make it impossible that it should exercise real supervision or should control policy. I suggest again that we have not really thought out

with sufficient clarity, in the light of present day ideas and requirements, the position which the University should occupy towards its colleges in matters of tuition.....I am convinced again that the University courses should be recognised as beginning at the close of what we now call the Intermediate stage....I suggest again that every effort should be made to extend professional rather than general Arts courses....Finally, I suggest that the University must deliberately encourage any institution, in any sphere of work or play, which would give its students more of a corporate character....The University has few signs of a common life ; it is still in the tribal stage ; it needs to become a nation.”³⁰

Socrates was called the gadfly of the Athenians. In a smaller sphere Sir Malcolm Hailey performed a similar valuable service to this University. His constructive criticism led particularly to the appointment of a Functions Committee which should suggest methods for the devolution of administrative duties, so as to lighten the burden of the Syndicate and the Senate by disposing more summarily of detailed matters of routine, leaving those authorities freer to consider broad questions of policy.

Several of the recommendations of the Functions Committee were accepted by the Syndicate and the Senate. For example the Board of Accounts was reinforced and given wider powers, so that it could act more effectively as a Standing Committee of Finance. The Committee of Discipline received final authority in all cases in which its decisions were unanimous. The Vice-Chancellor was authorised to dispose summarily of many matters of routine which had previously been reserved for the decision of the Syndicate. The Academic Council acquired more real authority in the sphere of University instruction.³¹

After the appointment of Mr. Woolner as Vice-Chancellor in October, 1928, this process of devolution of minor matters was further extended. But a general reconstruction of the University, which would involve considerable amendment of the Act of 1904, could not be contemplated without a general survey of the condition of the University, such as was made in the Report of the Enquiry Committee in 1933.

In any case, special difficulties exist in the Panjab, which reinforce the tendency to insist upon the maintenance of a system of "checks and balances" in defining the policy of the University and controlling its administration. The chief of these difficulties is, of course, the existence of communal lines of cleavage and of sectional interests, which prevent real homogeneity and retard those improvements which depend upon it. It has been admirably expressed by Sir Malcolm Hailey :

"One can hardly believe that when a fuller knowledge has come, the present lines of cleavage will persist ; we may hope that, in the words of Lowell, 'divisions will tend to be based less on racial or religious differences than on varying views regarding the needs of the people as a whole.' Religion, whose true function is a guide in the conduct of life and thought, steps beyond its sphere when it binds its followers into communities so circumscribed and defined as to create social divisions and antagonisms. Wherever it has done so, it has always been a danger to society. We look for a future in which men, while not abandoning their religion, will put it in its proper place, and will not allow it to prejudice either their social or political relations with their fellow-men."³²

On account of the peculiar complexity and difficulty of the administrative and constitutional problems which have confronted the University in its development during its most recent phase of growth, they have been examined in continuity. We turn now to record the remarkable expansion in the scope and functions of the University during these years.

We have already observed how in the academic year 1920-21 a critical change of policy was initiated on a quite large scale by the appointment of a number of University Professors and the organisation of departments for advanced teaching and research. This was the most significant development of the University since its foundation, not only because it immediately changed its character from that of an institution which was chiefly concerned with the prescription of courses of study, the general supervision of affiliated teaching institutions, and the examination of their

candidates ; but also because it definitely prescribed the general plan of development for the future.

Having established certain departments of direct higher teaching, the University committed itself to three lines of activity, which, if consistently pursued, would absorb most of its energy and would result in its steady evolution into an organic corporation, which would have a more direct and beneficent influence on the Province than the rather alarming growth of its apparatus of mere examination had previously promised. These three lines of activity were : (i) the logical addition of further teaching departments, until a comprehensive and symmetrical teaching corporation was ultimately achieved ; (ii) the progressive provision of buildings and equipment for the accommodation of these departments and incorporated colleges and for the residence of students ; (iii) the devising of a wise system of collaboration between these departments and the colleges of Lahore, so as to form a nuclear corporation, eliminating friction and reduplication of effort, creating the higher standards of achievement, which would enhance the general reputation of the University ; interlocking this superstructure harmoniously with the college system of less advanced education of undergraduates ; and finally extending this process by establishing a more real and organic relation between this nuclear corporation of Lahore and the mufassal colleges. In short, the vital changes which heralded the most recent phase of the University's growth opened an alluring prospect of co-ordinated advance in the future.

One condition has, however, somewhat hindered and confused the evolution of the policy which was so clearly implied in the innovations of 1920, namely the non-existence of a homogeneous central corps to control and direct this policy. The direction has been very much more like that of the Council of the League of Nations than, for example, like that of the British Cabinet. If the advancement of this policy is to be consistent and cumulative in its effect, plainly the directors of the policy must be concerned with the general policy, which must not be confused or nullified by the frequent intrusion of considerations of sectional advantage. That has probably been the chief

drawback to the application of this policy during the past twelve years. There is in the situation a practical paradox which is very difficult to resolve, but which must be resolved if the University is to achieve its truest purpose and is to take a proud place among the universities of the world. Members of the authorities of the University who represent colleges and sectional interests must consistently place the University as a whole before those special interests. If they have been nurtured in those narrower spheres and remain dominated by those narrower loyalties, there will be little hope of achieving the grand objective of the University. It must have a Cabinet rather than a League Council and Assembly.

Of the three aspects of the new policy which have been indicated above, the first has been further developed since its initiation. An elaborately devised and equipped teaching department of Chemistry was the first to be added subsequently. In the next place a department of Commerce was created in the form of an incorporated college. Finally a department of History was added. Besides these Government Colleges of Agriculture and Engineering were brought within the orbit of the University.

The development is in process and is controlled by practical considerations. Subjects of practical utility, in which advanced training can provide students with high technical equipment for industrial and commercial careers, have naturally received preference in the plan. But that cultural aims have not been ignored is indicated by the appointment of a University Professor of History. It may seem strange that no similar Professor and centralised department of English has yet been created alongside those of Arabic, Persian and Sanskrit, when special teaching is given in French and German. This has been due partly at least to the fact that it was judged that two separate departments and professors of language and of literature were needed, and that the claims of each side have so far cancelled those of the other! But there are those who maintain that, if an expert in the academic study of the English language were appointed University Professor and assisted to create a department of teaching, the status and functions

of University Professor of English literature could be conferred upon one or more of his college colleagues in Lahore. As this process of expansion is, however, only twelve years old, and as it is largely determined by the availability of funds and by the extent to which it is likely to improve the prospects of livelihood for University students, we can await its extension with equanimity, and can hope in the future to see University Professors and Departments of English language and literature, Political Science, Physics and Geography, for example, added to the teaching strength.

In 1913-14 Professor A. Smithells, F.R.S., had spent some months in the Panjab, chiefly at Lahore, at the invitation of the University, and while here had greatly stimulated interest in chemical study and research. After his visit Mr. B. H. Wilsdon, who was Professor of Chemistry at Government College, Lahore, prepared a scheme for an Honours School of Chemistry under the centralised control of the University, teaching being provided by the affiliated colleges in Lahore. In 1919 the University proposed to erect a chemical laboratory and to appoint a University Professor of Physical Chemistry, and in the following year received the promise of considerable financial assistance from Government for the purpose.

In 1922-23 a University Chemical Laboratory was constructed upon plans prepared by the Government Architect, Mr. B. M. Sullivan, in consultation with Dr. Dunncliff and Bawa Kartar Singh of Government College. Of the total cost, amounting to Rs. 4½ lakhs, Government provided Rs. 3 lakhs. In May, 1924, Dr. Dunncliff received the title and status of University Professor of Inorganic Chemistry, and in the following October Dr. S.S. Bhatnagar joined the staff of the University as Professor of Physical Chemistry and Director of the Laboratories.³³

At the suggestion of Mr. P. Carter Speers, of Forman Christian College, a Pass course for the degree of B.Sc. in Technical Chemistry was instituted by the University, instruction being given in the laboratories of Forman Christian College. It did not prove very useful, and in 1925 it was replaced by an Honours School in the subject, in which

assistance was given by the staff of the University Chemical Laboratory and by various technical experts.³⁴

In the same year, 1925, the University appointed a Reader in Organic Chemistry.³⁵ It had thus equipped itself with an admirable department of Chemistry, containing sections of Physical, Inorganic and Technical Chemistry, in charge of University Professors, and Organic Chemistry, in charge of a Reader. It had completed the building of an Observatory and department of Astronomy in 1921, and had incorporated the Government College departments and Professors of Zoology and Botany, for whose assistance it also directly appointed Readers. In teaching and research these scientific departments of the University have completely justified their creation, despite their heavy cost to Government and the University. It remains now to provide similarly for the development of the basic science of Physics by its complete organisation as a department on parity with these others, and to institute a properly equipped department of Geography. When these are added the University will be able to boast a fairly complete and balanced equipment for higher teaching and research in the Sciences.

Development during these years was by no means confined to the departments of Science. The University decided in 1920 to erect suitable buildings for Oriental and Law Colleges. With the new orientation towards teaching and research, it was rightly felt that adequate and dignified buildings were needed for the accommodation of the rapidly growing numbers of students who were being attracted to Lahore. The accommodation of the students of Law College had been for decades quite deplorable. In 1913 the University had acquired the Convent building which, though a great improvement, was not properly adapted to the purpose.³⁶ At last in 1922 a new building was erected on the site for the Law College at a cost of somewhat more than Rs. one lakh, towards which the Maharaja of Kashmir contributed Rs. 30,000.³⁷ In the same year Government transferred the Diocesan Boys' High School with its grounds to the University at an assessed annual rental, and the building was used for some years as a temporary hostel for students of Law College.³⁸

Since its foundation in 1870 Oriental College had enjoyed the hospitality of a poor relation in Government College. If less uncomfortable, this was scarcely less dignified than the experience of its twin brotherhood of Law. Having enjoyed this tolerant shelter for several decades, Oriental College was transferred to the side rooms of the University Hall; thence to portion of the Convent building; until it was finally endowed with a suitable and permanent abode in 1925, immediately behind Law College. Although the latter had been built so recently, it had already outgrown its shell. The University therefore decided to construct between the two parallel buildings a common Hall.³⁹ This Hall, which was completed in 1926, was named after the Vice-Chancellor, Sir John Maynard, to whose energy the academic and material expansion of the University during this period was largely due.

Owing to the rapid growth of the University during these years, its administrative offices had become quite inadequate. The old Senate Hall had become completely occupied by clerical offices, and other small roomshad been built on to it. In 1926 therefore a new and handsome Senate Hall was erected "finished externally in Roman style and internally in Corinthian style."⁴⁰ It was named Hailey Hall in honour of the distinguished Chancellor of the period, Sir Malcolm Hailey, and for the first time since the foundation of the University provided suitable rooms in which the Senate and Syndicate could transact its business, as well as a number of sorely needed rooms to be used for committees and for administrative purposes.⁴¹

Reasonably satisfactory provision had now been made for the assembly, administration and instruction of the University. There remained unsolved, however, the material and social problems of the residence of students. A Students' Residence Committee of the Syndicate had been formed to secure the welfare of the rapidly growing body of students in Lahore. Rules were prescribed by the Syndicate for the healthful housing of students attached to affiliated colleges, which was apparently satisfactory; for in 1926 the Hostel Visitors reported that, of a total number of 5,426 students on the rolls of ten colleges in Lahore, only 66 were

living in unrecognised hostels. There were then, in addition to the college hostels, 14 recognised private hostels for students, while one which was not properly maintained was deregistered.⁴²

The University itself, however, had so far failed to provide suitable residence for the students of its own incorporated colleges, so that the strictures of its Hostel Visitors were apt to invite ironical retort. Mr. Woolner had pointed out only a few years before, in the course of a Convocation address, that Law College had rendered itself liable to disaffiliation on the ground of insanitary accommodation not merely for the residence, but even for the instruction of students.⁴³ The University therefore decided in 1927 to erect a hostel for 310 students of Oriental and Law Colleges at a cost of Rs. 3 lakhs, if Government would contribute half the necessary sum.⁴⁴ Two such hostels were ultimately built in 1930, to provide residence for 380 students and were named after the Chancellor and Vice-Chancellor of the period, Sir Geoffrey de Montmorency and Mr. Woolner.

The academic and material expansion of the University in these years included the establishment of Hailey College of Commerce. A Faculty of Commerce, which was quite independent of that of Economics, had been established in 1919-20 and a Government Institute of Commerce had been opened in Lahore and affiliated to the University in 1919, in order to prepare candidates for a Diploma of Commerce which had been instituted by the University. In 1922 the Syndicate, after considering a report of the Faculty of Commerce, decided that it was desirable to improve the standard and status of the training in commercial principles and practice by substituting for the diploma a degree of Bachelor of Commerce and providing therefor more advanced and expert tuition.⁴⁵ The proposal was advanced rather inopportunely, for the Province was just beginning to experience that wave of economic depression which has been the result of the worldwide dislocation of trade by the Great War. One of its earliest academic symptoms was the closing of the Government Institute of Commerce in 1923 on account of financial stringency.

The project was postponed for three years, but was revived in 1926 by the munificence of the late Sir Ganga Ram, who had been long associated with the University, having been appointed Mayo-Patiala Fellow in Civil Engineering in 1876, and had acted as University Engineer in more recent years. He offered to present to the University the property known as Nabha House, on condition that it should be applied as a College of Commerce, which should provide a course of three years' training after the Intermediate Examination for the degree of Bachelor of Commerce. In communicating this generous offer of Sir Ganga Ram to the University, Government also offered a non-recurring grant of Rs. 10,000 for the equipment of the College and an annually recurring grant of a maximum amount of Rs. 42,000, to assist in its maintenance.⁴⁶

Hailey College, as the institution was named after the Chancellor, was opened in 1927, to provide "a sound commercial training for young men, who, possessing a good general education, wish to qualify themselves for positions in the higher branches of commercial life."⁴⁷ A commodious hostel was erected for the residence of its students, who have been provided with every facility for a higher commercial education. One of the most pleasing features of the curriculum of the College has been the original provision of a three years' course of training and the requirement that students must have attained the Intermediate standard before admission.⁴⁸

Since the foundation of Hailey College of Commerce in 1927 the cloud of economic depression has obscured the University. It was lightened only once when a Chair of History was established in 1930. On the other hand, after the resignation of Professor Myles the Chair of Economics was reduced in 1931 to the status of a Readership.

The "Building Era," which began in 1905 and reached its height after 1922, has closed; though the laying of the foundation-stone of a University Union Society's home by the Hon. Sir Fazl-i-Hussain to celebrate the Jubilee in December, 1933, will prove, we hope, the harbinger of a second age of building, for certain essential structures still exist only on the horizon of the imagination. One of the first of

these should be a building containing rooms for lectures and group tuition and a Senior Common Room for the meeting of University and College teachers. Such an edifice would serve not only to focus the scholastic life of the University, but also to symbolise its beneficent transformation from a board of examiners into a society of scholars and students.

The advancement of the University during the latest period of its life has been especially marked in respect of the development of the staff and equipment of Oriental College; the growth of the Library; the fostering of the scientific departments; and the rapid increase in the number of mufassal colleges which have been opened and affiliated. In respect of professional training the University has provided directly only for Law and Commerce. Government has established and maintained institutions for training in Medicine, Engineering, Agriculture and Teaching, under the ægis but not the administration of the University. One other institution for professional training which has been established by Government, namely the Panjab Veterinary College, has not been affiliated to the University; while another department of professional training, which in many modern Universities is logically linked with a Medical Faculty, namely a school of dentistry, is in its infancy in this Province. It is not essential that a Veterinary College, notwithstanding its importance in an agricultural province, should be affiliated to the University; but it is highly advantageous that a dental school should be attached to the Medical College. Yet neither of these directly concerns the purpose and welfare of the University.

The aspect of University teaching in its higher range which has received least encouragement has been the Faculty of Arts. Only two of the characteristic subjects of this group of studies, History and Mathematics, have been developed, while others, such as Philosophy and Modern Literature, have been somewhat neglected. It is not difficult to infer the reasons for this neglect, though it is to be hoped that they will not always prevail. Philosophy is a subject of no utilitarian value. Modern Indian literature in the languages of the Panjab—Urdu, Panjabi, Hindi and Pashto—is in a condition very similar to that of the vernaculars

of Europe in the age of Dante. Latin then occupied in Europe a place precisely similar to that which English now occupies in India. Panjab awaits its Chaucer or Dante. It is true that the vernacular languages already possess a native literature, chiefly poetic ; but it is still in its infancy. It is a plain duty of the University to foster the development of this literature, and it has already done something in this direction.

In 1927 the University considered a resolution of the Indian Universities Conference, that a modern Indian language and literature be recognised as an optional subject in the Intermediate Arts, B.A. and M.A. Examinations. It then decided not to recognise a vernacular language as a subject of an additional optional paper in the examinations for the Master's degree or for the degree of Bachelor of Science ; but to recognise Urdu, Panjabi and Hindi as subjects of additional optional papers in the examination for the degree of Bachelor of Arts. It was proposed also, as soon as the necessary funds were available to institute University Lectureships in these three vernacular languages. ⁴⁹ In 1928 three highly qualified gentlemen were appointed to these posts, namely, Dr. Benarsi Das in Hindi ; M. Mahmud Shairani in Urdu ; and S. Mohan Singh in Panjabi. ⁵⁰ Moreover, the University has been engaged for some years in the preparation of a Panjabi dictionary, which when completed will do much to fix and embellish that language, while Dr. Benarsi Das and M. Shairani have made valuable contributions to the study of the vernacular languages of the Province. Such research is admirable ; but it is perhaps to be regretted that the study and teaching of vernacular languages and literatures in the University is so completely confined to Oriental College and that students on the western side are less influenced by it than they would be if the separation of the oriental side were less marked. A renaissance of vernacular literature would be assisted by a more fluid relation between the two sides and if, as soon as possible, vernacular studies were admitted into the higher curriculum of the Faculty of Arts.

The need of a fully organised department and an Honours School of English Language and literature in the

University is plain and it is at first sight difficult to understand the postponement of its realisation. Other subjects also, such as Political Science and Geography, await adequate development. The deferment of such development is probably largely due to the popular demand for utilitarian studies, and partly also to the high cost of maintenance of the scientific departments which embrace but a small proportion of the total number of students. In 1927, for example, the Syndicate appointed a Committee to consider the institution of a University department of Physics and the organisation of an Honours School in that subject.⁵¹ Little academic argument is necessary to justify the advancement of this fundamental science, in which such radical advance has been made in the past fifty years. But it was pointed out that the erection and equipment of a laboratory would cost Rs. 4 or 5 lakhs ; that the maintenance charges would be heavy ; that the other scientific departments were absorbing a considerable part of the revenue of the University ; and that it would be more desirable, in order to restore the balance of studies, to institute Chairs of History and of English language and literature.⁵² It will be seen, therefore, that the academic development of the University has not been planless, but that, with its restricted resources, its authorities have been forced often to weigh several other considerations than academic logic.

In 1925 an important experiment was initiated in the Faculty of Arts, when a combined Honours School, embracing English, History, Philosophy and Economics was instituted.⁵³ Its advantages, if successfully maintained, were and are obvious, for it would foster an education which should be at once broad and advanced, and would incidentally assist the abler students in preparation for public competitive examinations more adequately than the ordinary combinations of studies for a pass degree. Unfortunately it was found impossible to maintain this combined Honours School, chiefly on account of the obstacles to effective intercollegiate co-operation in teaching. The lesson of its failure has been clearly revealed : that such a scheme will only be practicable when a centralised University department in each of the subjects has been properly organised and a harmonious

modus operandi has been established between the University teachers and the most highly qualified teachers in the affiliated Colleges of Lahore. An Honours School of History was inaugurated in the Jubilee year, 1932, and the writer can already testify to its educational value. By a different approach, that is, by the separate establishment of an Honours School in Economics and—as centralised University departments are successively created—in English, Philosophy and Political Science, an elastic combination of higher studies in English and any two of the other four subjects could constitute a more practicable Honours School of the broad type originally attempted and still desired.

During the past two decades the University has clearly recognised its obligation not only directly to diffuse, but also to extend knowledge, and in all the teaching departments which have been created a considerable amount of valuable research has been accomplished and is proceeding. The contributions of leaders of research in the departments of Botany, Zoology, Chemistry, Economics and Mathematics have already been widely recognised. The work of Drs. S. R. Kashyap, G. Matthai, S.S. Bhatnagar, H. B. Dunnicliff, J. N. Ray, Professors C. V. H. Rao and W. H. Myles, and Dr. L. C. Jain, may be recorded. A similar survey of the list of the series of Panjab University Oriental Publications,* both classical and modern, reveals the impetus which has been given to Oriental Scholarship by the appointment to Oriental College of experts for whom the University has provided opportunities for critical enquiry. The contributions of Drs. A. C. Woolner, Benarsi Das, Lakshman Sarup, Mohammad Iqbal and Professor Mohammad Shafi are considerable. A useful beginning has also been made in the collection, arrangement and analysis of local historical archives by Mr. H. L. O. Garrett, Keeper of the Panjab Government Records, and it is confidently expected that the fruits of his pioneering will begin to be garnered during the next few years. When it is remembered that all these contributions have been made within the past twenty years, the University can be reasonably proud of an accomplishment which has been made possible by the enlightened policy of its authorities in recent years.

* See list published in Calendar, 1933-34, pp. 7-9.

Phenomenal expansion has occurred in the number of colleges affiliated to the University since 1919. In that year 27 institutions were affiliated, whereas in 1933 the number amounts to 53, although the three Delhi Colleges were dis-affiliated from Panjab University when the new University of Delhi was founded in 1922, and one other institution—Benarsi Das Peace Memorial College, Ambala—which was opened and affiliated in this period, was subsequently closed. A complete list of colleges now affiliated to the University will be found in Appendix IV. Of these institutions Nos. III, VIII, and XXVI—LIII have been founded between 1919 and 1933.

It will be observed that of the last thirty affiliated colleges which have been founded, only three have been established in Lahore, and that of the fifty-three, only three exist for the higher education of women. Again, of the total number of colleges, 23 are maintained and administered by Government, 16 by various private Indian societies and trusts, six by Indian States, five by Christian Missionary Societies, and three directly by the University. Moreover, of the three incorporated colleges of the University, only Law College is entirely maintained by it; Hailey College is maintained almost entirely by means of an annual grant from Government, and Oriental College is also largely maintained by various annual contributions from Government.

Several difficult problems have been created by the portentous increase in the number of affiliated colleges, especially in the mufassal. There is a reasonable prospect that the Lahore Colleges will be gradually cemented with the teaching departments of the University to form a real corporation, which will be reinforced by common social and athletic activities. The Union and other University societies, the formation of University teams for games, the assembly of students on the common University sports ground, and the mingling of individual members of different colleges who share mutual interests, will tend constantly to increase this corporate spirit. Academic standards, too, will be promoted by easy access to the highest in each sphere. But the problem of the mufassal colleges will be at best unaffected by such improvement in Lahore.



UNIVERSITY TEACHING AND ADMINISTRATIVE STAFF, 1933.

Left to Right.

- Sitting*.—Dr. S. S. Bhatnagar, Mr. C. V. H. Rao, Mr. J. W. Thomas, Dr. S. R. Kashyap, Dr. A. C. Woolner, Mr. C. L. Anand, Dr. H. B. Dunncliff, Mr. Mohammad Shafi, Dr. G. Matthai.
- Standing (1st Row)*.—Mr. Desh Raj Mahajan, Mr. M. Bashir, Mr. B. N. Singh, Mr. C. L. Mathur, Mr. S. P. Singha, Mr. Ishwar Das, Mr. Anand Kumar, Mr. J. F. Bruce, Dr. L. C. Jain, Dr. J. N. Ray.
- Standing (2nd Row)*.—Mr. Henry Lall, Mr. R. R. Sethi, Mr. Rahim Bakhsh, Mr. Krishan Datta, Mr. Abdul Qayum Malik, Dr. Mohd. Iqbal, Dr. H. Chaudhuri, Mr. N. A. Yajnik, Dr. Lakshman Sarup, Mr. P. Samuels Lall, Mr. Labhu Ram.

“ We are convinced,” wrote the Haldane Commission on the University of London, “ that it is not possible to organise a great university merely by giving a number of independent institutions with different aims and different standards a formal connexion with a central degree giving body, which has practically no control beyond the approval of syllabuses for degree courses, the recognition of individual teachers and the conduct of degree examinations.”⁵⁴ If this was the sober judgment of that eminent Commission upon the academic situation in the city of London, how much more perplexing is the problem of Panjab University in attempting to maintain proper conditions, standards and methods among a group of isolated colleges scattered between Quetta and Rohtak, between Srinagar and Multan !

In 1932 there were 6,275 students on the rolls of the eight Arts Colleges of Lahore, of whom only 1,897 belonged to Lahore. In addition to these there were also 1,799 students enrolled in the five professional colleges and Oriental College, which provide the necessary training for their appropriate degrees. That is, there were 8,074 University College students residing in Lahore, of whom only about one-third belonged to Lahore. The population of Lahore has increased by about 50 per cent. in a decade ; such is the lure of the metropolis. Obviously, as the nucleus of Panjab University is improved, its centripetal force will increase, until it is threatened with intellectual apoplexy, while the mufassal will grow proportionately more anæmic. The plain inference emerges, that there must be a dual University of the Panjab, of which the two aspects must be related like the obverse and reverse of a coin. Special functions will need to be developed in respect of Lahore and of the mufassal, and great care and foresight will be necessary in order to maintain and develop education in the affiliated colleges of the mufassal, which cannot be regarded merely as tributaries to Lahore.

Another difficulty arises from the growing popularity of the present type of University education—a popularity which bears no rational relation to its utilitarian value. In 1919 there were 13,474 candidates for all examinations of the University.⁵⁵ In 1932 there were 34,700.⁵⁶ It has

been suggested that the peak of this increase has now been reached. The figures are less overwhelming than the grand total seems to indicate, for they included in 1932 as many as 20,333 candidates for the Matriculation and School Leaving Certificate Examination. There were nearly 17,000 students enrolled in over fifty colleges. But nearly half of these were proceeding to the Intermediate Examination and less than 4,000 appeared in the various degree examinations. Allowing for a proportion who fail in the degree examinations and prepare for another attempt, the University is concerned with the higher education of about 7,000 post-Intermediate students, who alone in other countries would be regarded as University students. If the University can solve the problem—in itself far from insuperable—of devising a better method of educating boys and girls to the Intermediate standard, it will overcome its greatest difficulty.

The chief obstacle to this reform is the fact that most colleges derive most of their revenue from the fees of students, and therefore wish to attract as many students as possible and to educate them as cheaply as possible. Any proposal which would restrict their freedom in this respect is opposed by their representatives. But the depressing result of the present system is to unloose annually upon the community a large number of poorly educated graduates—perhaps nearly 2,000—who find it impossible to gain the form of livelihood to which they aspire. Industrial development in the Panjab is still rudimentary; in these years of agricultural depression, therefore, the band of unemployed graduates has swollen ominously. We are forced to the conclusion that the University should aim in future at better educating fewer students.

The University has wisely paid very active attention during recent years to the physical welfare of students. A standing committee of the Syndicate was formed to supervise their residence; and the conditions of life of more than 8,000 students in Lahore are naturally an object of special care. Regulations have been adopted requiring that every undergraduate must live during term with a parent or guardian, or in a college hostel, or in a hostel recognised by

the University. Official Hostel Visitors have been appointed to ensure the hygienic condition of private hostels, maintained for profit; for, owing to the rapid increase in the number of students, it has been found impossible so far completely to eliminate private hostels. Owing to the vigilance of the Students' Residence Committee and its Hostel Visitors, the number of students living in unrecognised hostels has become almost negligible. Rules have been introduced to require that every recognised hostel shall be under the charge of a suitable superintendent, who is held responsible for its sanitary condition and general discipline. The provision of hygienic residence for students has been one of the principal conditions of the affiliation of a college, and its proper maintenance has been a serious care of the periodic committees of inspection which have been regularly appointed by the Syndicate.

The formation in 1919 of a University Company of the Indian Defence Force, of which Mr. Woolner was appointed Officer Commanding,⁵⁷ has been a salutary measure for the physical and disciplinary training of students, to which the virile youth of the Panjab has responded well. An Adjutant, who is a professional officer, has been appointed to administer and train this corps. In 1926 the Syndicate appointed a committee to report upon the proposal to make such military training generally compulsory for students. The committee reported against the proposal. The Syndicate decided, however, to introduce Military Science as an optional subject in the curriculum of the Intermediate Examination.⁵⁸

Discussion of the proposal to make military training compulsory for all physically fit students led to a proposal to introduce a general system of physical training in affiliated colleges. The Syndicate decided to appoint a Director of Physical Culture, who should also act as Secretary to the University Sports Tournament Committee. Government assisted the project with a recurrent annual grant.⁵⁹ A Director was appointed in 1927, who devised a scheme of physical exercise for students, while the University made grants to certain of the Arts Colleges of Lahore to assist them to engage physical instructors. These instructors

were at first trained at the Central Training College, Lahore, but subsequently a number of colleges appointed men who had been trained at the National Y. M. C. A. School of Physical Education, Madras. Medico-physical examination of students was standardised; a series of physical exercises was introduced in the Arts Colleges of the Province; and lectures were given upon bodily fitness, hygiene and sanitation; while games and sports were systematically encouraged by the Sports Tournament Committee, and athletic equipment was made more easily available. University Cricket and Athletic Clubs were formed.⁶⁰

The scheme of physical culture initiated in 1927 has since developed very rapidly and the University can well be proud of its pioneering activity in this sphere. The Panjabi youth has remarkable aptitude for such exercise especially in the form of games and athletic sports. These have been adopted with enthusiasm by college students, who have attained a high standard of skill in them. College clubs and teams have multiplied rapidly and University teams have been organised for most games and sports. In cricket, hockey, tennis and athletics especially they have excelled and have supplied several members of All-India representative teams. Much of the credit for this achievement belongs to Mr. Henry Lall, Director of Physical Culture in the University, and to Mr. G. D. Sondhi and Dr. Vishwa Nath of Government College, Lahore.

In 1932 as many as 29 colleges possessed trained physical instructors, and in June of that year physical training was made compulsory for all physically fit students in their first year; remedial exercises are devised for those who are physically subnormal.⁶¹ It is difficult to over-value this admirable extension of the education of students, which reacts not only for their physical, but also for their civic and social improvement.

Other useful activities initiated by the University include the establishment of an Appointments Board, intended to facilitate the employment of graduates*; and also a Foreign Information Bureau, which collects and

* The Appointments Board, which had been in existence for many years, was recently abolished.

supplies to members of this University information in regard to higher educational institutions abroad, and assists those who are about to go abroad for further education by introducing them to the appropriate avenues and helping to arrange for their reception.⁶²

The reader who has persevered through this record will realise that, especially during the latter half of its career, the University has grown very rapidly both in size and in the complexity of its functions. The achievement of its Jubilee has coincided with a comprehensive examination of its present state, the process by which it has been reached, and the problems which now confront those who fix its destiny. The Panjab University Enquiry Committee, of which Sir George Anderson was appointed Chairman, was invited by the Panjab Government to survey the University and to recommend measures for its improvement. In the course of five months, from October, 1932, until March, 1933, this Committee made the first systematic survey of the development and condition of the University, which has yet been attempted.

It is not proposed in this little volume to recapitulate the observations and advice of that Committee, but the writer, who participated in its labours, may perhaps be permitted to conclude this record with a few general reflections upon the present position of the University, which arise from a critical and an historical review.

Since the origin in 1865 of the movement which led to its foundation, the University has several times re-adapted its form and functions. It began as an examining board and a modest institution for the instruction of students in certain aspects of Oriental culture and in Law ; while it also professed a function as a literary society, which it did not seriously exercise. Its original bias was strongly towards the establishment of higher education through the vernacular language of this Province. This bias could not be maintained for several compelling reasons ; firstly, because no vernacular language of the Panjab was, or is yet, capable of forming by itself an adequate vehicle to convey the highest form of modern education and training. The task of producing the academic literature which is necessary for such a purpose

was then insuperable and is now possible only to a very limited extent. The University then became a dual institution, with an eastern and a western department.

In the course of several decades the western side of the University developed rapidly, because, once the student had mastered the foreign language which was its medium, he had open to him the whole body of systematic modern knowledge. Its influence on his plastic mind reproduced in him many of the mental attitudes which have developed in Europe since the Renaissance. But very few Indians have acquired, at least in India, the more fundamental qualities of European culture, which are generated there against a Greco-Roman-Christian background; wherefore English education in India is and must be essentially different from English education in Europe. This form of university education by the medium of English has become dominant in the Panjab, and the fact, though inevitable, is a cause of regret, for it separates its products from their vernacular-speaking compatriots. Higher education in India must be, and must long remain, bilingual. It is possible to imagine and gradually to achieve the highest form of education in the vernacular. It seems at least to the writer regrettable that the oriental and western portions of the University have been kept so separate and have not been allowed to suffuse each other; for example, that on the western side English has been used so exclusively as the medium of instruction. A vernacular heavily impregnated with English would ultimately become a sufficient medium.

"All the vernaculars," wrote Mr. A. Yusuf Ali in a very striking passage which he contributed to the report of the recent University Enquiry Committee, "have been deeply influenced by the study of English literature. Above all, English is the ordinary medium of communication between provinces and with the outside world. Indeed, the use of English is perhaps the greatest bond which has linked together Indians of all provinces and communities. Without this bond the federation of India will be an idle dream."

The greatest obstacle to the use of a heavily anglicised vernacular as a medium of university instruction in the Panjab is the selection of the vernacular, for, if Urdu is

current in the towns, it is not current in the countryside, nor in Bengal, nor Bombay, nor Madras. If an anglicised Urdu could gradually be developed as the language of cultured India, one of the greatest weaknesses of university education in India, and particularly in the Panjab, namely, its alien, artificial character, would gradually be removed.

The character of the University has undergone several fundamental changes during the latter half of its career. The turning-point was marked by the erection of the Hall, which, apart from the old Senate Hall which it inherited from the University College, was the first material embodiment of its existence. Thereafter it acquired a range of appropriate and dignified buildings, which—as such buildings do—reacted upon the spirit and aims of the University. The accession of a Library and the tentative experiment of inviting a series of eminent scholars to sojourn at Lahore and impart of their intellectual riches, next led the University to create several oases of higher teaching and study amid its desert of examinations. The oases have flowered ; but they still remain a group of almost isolated oases, which do not yet form a planned garden and do not sufficiently irrigate the surrounding waste.

The Indian Universities Act of 1904 was inappropriate in that it did not apply particularly to the needs of this University, but simply remoulded the five existing Universities of India to one general type, with an occasional local variation. The Curzon Commission spent only about one week at Lahore and made but a hasty and superficial examination of the development, condition and possible future needs of Panjab University. It gave hardly any practical guidance and advice. The Act which was based upon its recommendations contained many serious *lacunae*, so far as it affected this University. True, it enabled the University to build and gave it general encouragement to become an institution of learning and direct instruction. But at the same time it imposed the affiliating principle, which has been applied on such a vast scale, and it made no provision for a proper working relation between the affiliating and teaching functions. A curious consequence of this defect has been that three of the direct teaching organs of the University—



Oriental, Law and Hailey Colleges—have been placed in the same constitutional relation to the University as affiliated colleges which have been established by semi-private societies or trusts.

Constitutional changes in the University have become necessary for its proper development in the future. Its present working in several respects depends upon a series of arrangements which are unsuitable to its status, functions and aims. It definitely requires three comprehensive changes: firstly, a readjustment of its authorities and their functions; secondly, a carefully devised scheme for the redistribution of the resources of the University teaching departments, incorporated colleges, and affiliated colleges of Lahore, which form its nucleus; thirdly, a new basis for the relations between the reformed nucleus in Lahore and the mufassal colleges.

The composition and functions of the Senate, Syndicate Academic Council, Faculties and Boards of Studies need to be carefully revised. From the academic point of view the chief need in the personnel of a Senate is the presence of a sufficient number of the most highly qualified university and college teachers and of representatives of the educated public. There is surely no place in the Senate of a University for any except highly educated persons. The Senate will necessarily meet infrequently; much of its business will be in effect formal; but a good Senate should form a deliberative court of appeal upon broad questions of University policy and it should not be burdened with comparatively unimportant questions.

The Syndicate must be a body of moderate size, but provision might well be made for the addition of suitable members besides those who are elected by such means as now exist. It must be the administrative authority which controls all the important business of the University; but it too should be released from all affairs of minor importance and from most academic affairs. The latter should generally be the business of the Academic Council, which should be empowered to determine most of them finally. The Academic Council should consist, in the majority, of the most highly qualified teachers of the University and the colleges, together with a



sufficient representation of principals and other teachers of affiliated colleges.

The constitution and functions of the Faculties, especially that of Arts, seriously need revision. It is difficult to discover what useful purpose the Faculty of Arts, as at present constituted, serves. On the other hand it often confuses and delays useful measures. Boards of Studies also seriously need reformation in order to secure that they shall consist as far as possible of the best qualified teachers of the subjects with which they are concerned.

Owing to the complexity of functions which the University has now developed, it clearly needs a whole-time Vice-Chancellor with considerable authority to supervise and co-ordinate its administration and dispose summarily of many matters which consume unnecessary time and energy. A great reduction of the multitudinous *ad hoc* committees, sub-committees and references from one authority of the University to another would be a most useful reform.

A further difficulty which has been produced by the course of the University's development has been the tendency often to subordinate its interest as a whole to the special interest of the various separate colleges. In several matters what may be called college politics are apt to obscure or retard the larger purposes of the University.

Certain academic changes are very necessary if the University is to progress properly in future. The most important of them is to readjust the teaching resources of the University departments and the Lahore colleges. There is in many cases an almost complete hiatus between the two, which sorely needs to be overcome. Conflicts of jurisdiction, friction and duplication of functions, lack of *liaison* and of a proper academic discipline sadly reduce the efficiency of this loose confederacy of departments and colleges. Its conversion into a well disciplined federation would be an enormous improvement, not only within itself, but also in its relation to the mufassal colleges.

Finally, an improved nuclear organisation in Lahore should be placed in a more effective relation to the colleges

of the mufassal, which are apt in the present system to be almost completely overlooked. It should be by no means impossible to devise a system parallel to that which is necessary for the special conditions of the Lahore group, in order to supervise and assist the mufassal colleges in dealing with the problems which are peculiar to them.

In short, the time has come, at the end of fifty years, for the University to take stock of its rapid progress, to consolidate the advances which it has already made, to determine wisely the general line of its future advance, and to overhaul the machinery for its maintenance and progress during the next stage.

Despite the fortuitousness which has often appeared to characterise its progress during the past quarter of a century, its achievement has been quite remarkable, especially in view of its narrow financial resources. One aspect of that progress, however, namely, the great increase in the total number of its students, has resulted in considerable embarrassment, causing it to oscillate dangerously between two conflicting functions—mass education, with little regard to its standards and products, on the one hand, and real improvement of the resources, methods and standards of sound learning, on the other hand. The latter is its truest purpose, and within two decades its authorities have achieved remarkable success in the advancement of sound learning. If the University receives the proper financial support which is essential, we can view with confidence the prospect of its future.



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ABBREVIATIONS

P. A. R.—Panjab Administration Report.

P. E. R.—Panjab Educational Report.

P. G. R.—Panjab Government Records.

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P. G. P.—Panjab Government Proceedings.

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P. U. C.—Panjab University Calendar.

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CHAPTER I.

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3. *Report of Anjuman-i-Panjab.* Introduction, p. 5.
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- *5. Letter No. 296, dated 10th June, 1865. From the Secretary to Government, Panjab, to the Director of Public Instruction, Panjab.
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*25. General Meeting of those interested in the promotion of the objects of the University held at the Lawrence Hall on 12th March, 1868.

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CHAPTER II.

THE ORIGINS OF ORIENTAL COLLEGE.

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APPENDICES.

APPEN

Statement showing the number of Candidates that went up and from 1871

Examinations.	NUMBER OF CANDIDATES									
	1871		1872		1873		1874		1875	
	Went up.	Passed.	Went up.	Passed.	Went up.	Passed.	Went up.	Passed.	Went up.	Passed.
Entrance	88	41	68	40	42	23	115	59	159	75
Proficiency in Arts ..	30	25	14	8	42	26	19	8	13	3
High Proficiency in Arts ..	..	..	..	..	..	..	7	3	12	4
Honors in Arts ..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
Maulvi or (Lower Arabic) ..	8	1	31	21	13	10	9	6	2	7
„ Alim (Middle Arabic) ..	..	..	16	7	8	8	7	5	6	2
„ Fazil (Higher Arabic) ..	..	..	..	..	2	2	5	5	3	2
Pragya or (Lower Sanskrit) ..	9	7	42	18	29	10	16	5	23	8
Visharad (Middle Sanskrit) ..	..	..	18	11	6	4	14	13	4	..
Shastri (Higher Sanskrit) ..	..	..	..	..	1	1	8	4	4	2
Munshi (Lower Persian) ..	7	5	35	20	35	27	41	24	75	33
Munshi Alim (Middle Persian)	8	4	11	3	19	17	10	7	18	7
Munshi Fazil (Higher Persian)	..	..	..	..	..	..	14	7	13	6
Examination in Vernacular } office work as connected with civil, criminal and revenue matters. }	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
Arithmetical Test ..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
Lower Panjabi or Budhiman Examination.	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
Middle Panjabi or Widwan Examination.	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
Higher Panjabi or Gyani Exa- mination.	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
Examination in Pashtu Langu- age or Literature.	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
Additional Title Examination for Maulvis, Munshis and Pandits.	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
Carried over ..	150	83	235	128	197	128	265	146	352	149

DIX I.

passed the various Examinations of the Panjab University College to 1882.

WENT UP AND PASSED DURING

1876		1877		1878		1879		1880		1881		1882		Total No. went up for each Examination since 1871.	Total No. passed in each Examination since 1871.
Went up.	Passed.	Went up.	Passed.	Went up.	Passed.	Went up.	Passed.	Went up.	Passed.	Went up.	Passed.	Went up.	Passed.		
202	151	None of these Examinations took place.	Not held	262	211	232	129	249	109	159	68	249	75	1,895	981
27	13			48	27	28	17	36	17	not held		37	14	294	158
7	3			17	8	6	4	17	6	not held		15	2	81	30
..	..			2	2	2	2	1	1	1	1	3	3	11	11
24	5			34	16	21	5	18	4	16	9	22	15	218	99
15	5			11	6	6	2	13	3	not held		10	7	92	45
1	..			5	4	4	2	8	3	not held		6	3	34	21
18	7			29	11	16	6	32	12	16	9	36	23	266	116
10	6			9	6	6	2	5	3	not held		5	4	77	49
9	2			10	2	8	3	5	1	not held		5	4	50	19
59	28			117	70	95	63	93	63	88	49	124	43	769	425
25	13			24	11	46	33	45	35	not held		33	8	239	138
5	3			8	4	16	11	12	11	not held		15	6	83	48
..	..			..	..	36	29	36	29	25	24	37	7	134	89
..	..			..	..	13	6	15	10	44	18	51	27	123	61
..	..			26	22	11	5	13	..	10	7	8	6	68	40
..	..			..	..	..	..	6	4	not held		1	1	7	5
..	..			..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	3	1	3	1
..	..			..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	14	5	14	5
..	..			..	..	..	..	..	..	25	8	1	..	26	8
402	236	2	2	602	400	546	319	604	311	584	193	675	254	4,294	2,249

Examinations.	NUMBER OF CANDIDATES									
	1871		1872		1873		1874		1875	
	Went up.	Passed.	Went up.	Passed.	Went up.	Passed.	Went up.	Passed.	Went up.	Passed.
Brought forward ..	150	83	235	128	197	128	265	146	352	149
* First Examination in Law..	..	..	..	..	..	..	5	2	6	4
* Final „ „ ..	..	..	..	..	..	..	11	4	4	..
Pradvivak or the 1st Examination in Hindu Law.	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
Examination in Mufti Alim and the functions of Kazi Alim.	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
Examination in Fazil and the functions of Kazi Fazil.	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
First Examination in Medicine	12	10	14	11	9	5	8	6	6	4
Final Examination in Medicine	7	5	2	2	11	9	13	13	6	5
Vaidya Examination in the Vaidak system of medicine.	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	3	2
Bhishak Examination in the Vaidak system of medicine.	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
Hakim Examination in the Yunani system of medicine.	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	5	3
Examination for the special certificate of Zubdat-ul-Hukama.	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
First Examination in Civil Engineering.	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	7	3
Final Examination in Civil Engineering.	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
Total number of candidates went up and passed during each year.	169	98	251	141	217	142	302	171	389	170

*The Law Examinations of December 1881 were postponed to February 1882 for 1882 have yet to be held in December next. There will be over 150 candidates to it will be 874, whilst, if the total number of candidates actually examined

SIMLA:

6th September 1882.

WENT UP AND PASSED DURING

1876		1877		1878		1879		1880		1881		1882		Total No. went up for each Examination since 1871.	Total No. passed in each Examination since 1871.
Went up.	Passed .	Went up.	Passed.	Went up.	Passed.	Went up.	Passed.	Went up.	Passed.	Went up.	Passed .	Went up.	Passed.		
402	236	2	2	602	400	546	319	604	311	384	197	675	254	4,394	2,349
..	..	29	19	74	28	104	81	73	25	*105	48	not yet held	396	207	
..	..	22	..	32	4	16	9	55	28	*65	35	Diitto.	205	80	
..	..	Not held		..	..	..	..	..	..	5	4	5	5	10	9
..	..			..	..	..	..	..	..	10	10	2	2	12	12
..	..			..	..	..	..	..	..	1	1	2	2	3	3
12	11			10	6	9	5	11	5	12	7	12	12	127	92
4	4	None of these Examinations took place.		12	11	11	11	7	5	7	4	8	4	92	77
..	..			..	..	..	..	..	..	7	5	5	4	15	11
..	..			..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	2	2	2	2
..	..			..	..	..	..	..	..	19	16	12	7	36	26
..	..			..	..	2	2	..	..	2	1	..	..	4	3
4	3			9	2	6	..	..	..	6	6	1	1	33	15
..	..			..	..	..	..	..	..	1	1	..	..	1	1
422	254	69	35	739	451	694	437	750	374	624	331	724	293	5,350	2,887

and hence the figures have been shown in the column for 1881. The Examinations dates, so that the total number of candidates examined this year and belonging this year is counted it will be found to reach 1,044 candidates.

(Sd.) G. W. LEITNER,
 REGISTRAR,
 P. U. College.

APPENDIX II.

Number of candidates who presented themselves at the various University Examinations from 1883 to 1904.

Year.	Entrance (Arts and Science).	Intermediate (Arts and Science).	B.A. and B.Sc.	M.A.
1883 ..	386	50	20	8
1884 ..		Figures not available.		
1885 ..		Figures not available.		
1886 ..	794	149	35	4
1887 ..	928	203	40	5
1888 ..	941	198	52	7
1889 ..	880	171	56	12
1890 ..	879	167	72	9
1891 ..	909	161	60	3
1892 ..	1,153	221	114	6
1893 ..	1,296	222	126	12
1894 ..	1,337	316	199	21
1895 ..	1,446	464	204	33
1896 ..	1,902	476	260	22
1897* ..	1,779	489	309	33
1898† ..	2,028	554	376	29
1899 ..	2,369	561	338	20
1900 ..	2,763	674	387	23
1901 ..	2,785	594	376	24
1902‡ ..	2,833	625	334	33
1903 ..	3,078	580	297	35
1904 ..	3,068	597	296	37

* Entrance Examination in the Faculty of Science was held for the first time.

† Intermediate Examination in the Faculty of Science was held for the first time.

‡ B.Sc. Examination was held for the first time.

APPENDIX III.

Number of candidates who presented themselves at the various Examinations from 1905 to 1932.

Year.	Entrance (Matriculation).	Intermediate (Arts and Science).	B.A. and B.Sc.	M.A. and M.Sc.
1905 ..	3,328	640	312	41
1906 ..	3,506	677	336	48
1907 ..	3,607	711	335	50
1908*	3,480	736	333	46
1909†	3,362	826	382	46
1910 ..	3,898	848	428	46
1911 ..	4,037	1,047	530	49
1912 ..	4,527	1,127	533	59
1913 ..	4,684	1,208	572	69
1914 ..	5,312	1,344	688	66
1915 ..	5,481	1,531	917	89
1916 ..	6,340	1,627	1,126	93
1917 ..	6,729	1,820	1,343	117
1918 ..	6,973	2,219	1,423	130
1919 ..	7,189	2,318	1,393	114
✓ 1920 ..	7,568	2,159	1,575	131
1921‡	7,945	1,860	1,425	125
1922 ..	8,488	2,081	1,531	125
1923 ..	10,691	2,366	1,383	141
1924 ..	9,209	2,677	1,394	164
1925 ..	12,988	3,149	1,598	170
1926 ..	12,192	3,558	1,803	159
1927 ..	13,020	3,978	2,142	168
1928 ..	13,707	4,171	2,058	197
1929 ..	13,695	4,678	2,247	252
1930 ..	14,571	5,400	2,415	303
1931 ..	20,116	5,939	2,577	306
1932 ..	20,333	6,175	2,781	343

* Candidates appeared in M.Sc. Examination for the first time.

† Honours in B.A. and B.Sc. Examinations introduced.

‡ Matriculation and School Leaving Certificate Examination took the place of Entrance Examination.

APPENDIX IV.

List of Institutions affiliated to the University of the Panjab in 1933.

- *I. Oriental College, Lahore.
- *II. Law College, Lahore.
- *III. Hailey College of Commerce, Lahore.
- IV. King Edward Medical College, Lahore.
- V. Lady Hardinge Medical College, New Delhi.
- VI. Central Training College, Lahore.
- VII. Panjab Agricultural College, Lyallpur.
- VIII. MacLagan Engineering College, Moghalpura, Lahore.
- IX. Government College, Lahore.
- X. Forman Christian College, Lahore.
- XI. Dayanand Anglo-Vedic College, Lahore.
- XII. Islamia College, Lahore.
- XIII. Khalsa College, Amritsar.
- XIV. Gordon College, Rawalpindi.
- XV. Murray College, Sialkot City.
- XVI. Edwardes College, Peshawar.
- XVII. Sadiq-Egerton College, Bahawalpur.
- XVIII. Randhir College, Kapurthala.
- XIX. Mohindra College, Patiala.
- XX. Sri Pratap College, Srinagar, Kashmir.
- XXI. Prince of Wales College, Jammu.
- XXII. Dyal Singh College, Lahore.
- XXIII. Kinnaird College for Women, Lahore.
- XXIV. Islamia College, Peshawar.
- XXV. Sanatana Dharma College, Lahore.
- XXVI. Dayanand Anglo-Vedic College, Jullundur City.
- XXVII. Dayanand Anglo-Vedic College, Rawalpindi.
- XXVIII. Ludhiana Government College, Ludhiana.
- XIX. Emerson College, Multan.
- XXX. Lahore College for Women, Lahore.
- XXXI. Vedic Bhratri College, Dera Ismail Khan.
- XXXII. Ramsukh Das College, Ferozepore City.
- XXXIII. Guru Nanak Khalsa College, Gujranwala.
- XXXIV. Hindu Sabha College, Amritsar.

* Institutions maintained by the University of the Panjab.

- XXXV. Government College, Lyallpur.
- XXXVI. Government Intermediate College, Gujrat.
- XXXVII. Government Intermediate College, Campbellpur.
- XXXVIII. Lawrence College, Ghoragali.
- XXXIX. Government Intermediate College, Jhang.
- XL. Government Intermediate College, Dharamsala.
- XLI. Malerkotla College, Malerkotla.
- XLII. Khalsa Intermediate College, Lyallpur.
- XLIII. Dayanand Mathradas College, Moga.
- XLIV. Dayanand Anglo-Vedic Intermediate College, Hoshiarpur.
- XLV. Government Intermediate College, Hoshiarpur.
- XLVI. Government Intermediate College, Rohtak.
- XLVII. Government Intermediate College, Pasrur.
- XLVIII. Bishop Cotton School and Intermediate College, Simla.
- XLIX. de Montmorency College, Shahpur Sadr.
- L. Lawrence Royal Military School and Intermediate College, Sanawar.
- LI. Stratford Intermediate College for Women, Amritsar.
- LII. Muslim Anglo-Oriental Intermediate College, Amritsar.
- LIII. Sandeman College, Quetta.

APPENDIX V. SUCCESSION LISTS.

1882—1933.

PATRONS.

1882. The Most Hon'ble George Frederick Samuel Robinson,
Marquis of Ripon, K.G., P.C., G.M.S.I., G.M.I.E., D.O.L.
1884. The Right Hon'ble Sir Frederick Temple Hamilton Temple,
Earl of Dufferin and Ava, K.P., G.M.S.I., G.C.B.,
G.C.M.G., G.M.I.E., D.C.L., F.R.S., D.O.L.
1888. The Most Hon'ble Henry-Charles-Keith Petty Fitz-Maurice
Marquis of Lansdowne, K.G., G.M.S.I., G.C.M.G.,
G.M.I.E., D.L.
1894. The Right Hon'ble Victor-Alexander Bruce, Earl of Elgin
and Kincardine, K.G., P.C., LL.D., G.M.S.I., G.M.I.E.,
Lord Bruce of Kinloss and Lord Bruce of Torry, in the
Kingdom of Scotland, and Baron Elgin, of Elgin, in the
United Kingdom.
1899. The Right Hon'ble George Nathaniel Baron Curzon, of
Kedleston, G.M.S.I., G.M.I.E., in the County of Derby, in
the Peerage of Ireland.
1905. The Right Hon'ble Sir Gilbert John Elliott Murray-
Kynynmond, P.C., G.C.M.G., Earl of Minto, of Rox-
burgh, Viscount Melgund of Melgund in the County of
Forfar, Baron Minto of Minto, Roxburgh, and a Baronet
of Nova Scotia.
1910. The Right Hon'ble Charles Baron Hardinge of Penshurst,
P.C., G.C.B., G.M.S.I., G.C.M.G., G.M.I.E., G.C.V.O.,
I.S.O.
- ✓ 1916. His Excellency the Right Hon'ble Frederick John Napier
Thesiger Baron Chelmsford, G.C.M.G.
1921. His Excellency the Right Hon'ble Rufus Daniel Isaacs,
Earl of Reading, P.C., G.C.B., G.M.S.I., G.M.I.E., K.C.
B.O., G.C.V.O.
1926. His Excellency the Right Hon'ble Edward Frederick Lind-
ley Wood, P.C., G.C.S.I., G.C.I.E., Baron Irwin of Kirby
Underdale in the County of York.
1931. His Excellency the Right Hon'ble the Earl of Willingdon,
P.C., G.C.S.I., G.C.M.G., G.C.I.E., G.B.E.

CHANCELLORS.

1882. Sir Charles Umpherston Aitchison, K.C.S.I., C.I.E., LL.D.,
D.O.L.
1887. Sir James Broadwood Lyall, C.S., K.C.S.I., D.O.L.
1892. Sir Dennis Fitzpatrick, C.S., K.C.S.I., D.L.
1897. Sir William Mackworth Young, M.A., C.S., K.C.S.I.
1902. The Hon'ble Sir Charles Montgomery Rivaz, K.C.S.I., I.C.S.
1905. The Hon'ble Sir Denzil Charles Jelf Ibbetson, B.A., C.S.I.,
K.C.S.I., B.C.S.
1905. The Hon'ble Sir Charles Montgomery Rivaz, K.C.S.I.,
I.C.S.
1907. The Hon'ble Sir Denzil Charles Jelf Ibbetson, B.A., C.S.I.,
K.C.S.I., B.C.S.
The Hon'ble Mr. Thomas Gordon Walker, C.S.I., I.C.S.
1907. The Hon'ble Sir Denzil Charles Jelf Ibbetson, B.A., C.S.I.,
K.C.S.I., B.C.S.
1908. The Hon'ble Sir Thomas Gordon Walker, C.S.I., I.C.S.
1908. The Hon'ble Sir Louis William Dane, K.C.I.E., C.S.I.,
I.C.S.
1911. The Hon'ble Mr. J. McC. Douie, C.S., C.S.I.
1911. The Hon'ble Sir Louis William Dane, K.C.I.E., C.S.I.,
I.C.S.
1913. The Hon'ble Sir Michael Francis O'Dwyer, K.C.S.I.,
C.S.I., G.C.I.E.
- ✓ 1919. His Excellency Sir Edward Douglas MacLagan, M.A.,
K.C.S.I., K.C.I.E., C.S.I., I.C.S.
1924. His Excellency Sir William Malcolm Hailey, B.A., G.C.S.I.,
G.C.I.E., K.C.S.I., C.I.E., I.C.S.
1928. His Excellency Dr. Sir Geoffrey FitzHervey deMontmorency,
M.A., LL.D., G.C.I.E., K.C.S.I., K.C.V.O., C.B.E.,
I.C.S.
1933. His Excellency Sir Herbert William Emerson, K.C.S.I.,
C.I.E., O.B.E., I.C.S.

VICE-CHANCELLORS.

1882. Oct., James Broadwood Lyall, C.S., K.C.S.I., D.O.L.
1883. Aug., Baden Henry Baden Powell, Esq., C.I.E., D.O.L.
1885. Feb., George Robert Elsmie, Esq., C.S.
1887. Feb., Sir William Henry Rattigan, Kt., K.C., LL.D.

1895. April, The Hon'ble Sir William Mackworth Young, M.A., I.C.S., C.S.I.
1895. Dec. Sir Charles Arthur Roe, Kt., M.A., C.S.
1898. May, Thomas Gordon Walker, Esq., C.S.
1900. Feb., The Hon'ble Sir Lewis Tupper, B.A., K.C.I.E., C.S.I., B.C.S.
1904. May, Sir P. C. Chatterji, R.B., M.A., C.I.E.
1904. Dec., The Hon'ble Sir Lewis Tupper, B.A., K.C.I.E., C.S.I., B.C.S.
1905. May, The Hon'ble Mr. Thomas Gordon Walker, C.S.I.
1906. Oct., The Hon'ble Sir Lewis Tupper, B.A., K.C.I.E., C.S.I., B.C.S.
1906. April, The Hon'ble Mr. Thomas Gordon Walker, C.S.I.
1907. May, Sir P. C. Chatterji, R.B., M.A., C.I.E.
1909. May, The Hon'ble Mr. Justice Frederick Alexander Robertson, Bar-at-Law, I.C.S.
1910. Feb., Rev. Sir James Ewing, M.A., D.D., LL.D.
1912. Sept., Rev. Sir James Ewing, M.A., D.D., LL.D.
1914. Sept., Dr. Sir James Ewing, C.I.E.
1917. Feb., The Hon'ble Mr. H. J. Maynard, M.A., I.C.S., C.S.I.
1918. April, Lt.-Col. J. Stephenson, D.Sc., M.B., F.R.C.S., I.M.S.
1918. Dec., The Hon'ble Sir John Maynard, M.A., K.C.I.E., C.S.I., I.C.S.
1920. Nov., The Hon'ble Sir John Maynard, M.A., K.C.I.E., C.S.I., I.C.S.
1922. Nov., The Hon'ble Sir John Maynard, M.A., K.C.I.E., C.S.I., I.C.S.
1923. April, The Right Rev. H. B. Durrant, M.A., D.D. (*Cantab.*).
1923. Oct., The Hon'ble Dr. Sir John Maynard, M.A., D.Litt., K.C.I.E., C.S.I., I.C.S.
1926. July, The Hon'ble Sir Geoffrey FitzHervey deMontmorency, M.A., K.C.I.E., K.C.V.O., C.B.E., I.C.S.
1928. Aug., The Hon'ble Mr. F. W. Kennaway, I.C.S.
1928. Oct., A. C. Woolner, Esq., C.I.E., M.A., F.A.S.B.
1931. March, M. L. Darling, Esq., B.A., I.C.S.
1931. Oct., A. C. Woolner, Esq., C.I.E., M.A., F.A.S.B.

DEANS OF UNIVERSITY INSTRUCTION.

1921. Jan., A. C. Woolner, Esq., M.A.
1924. June, Manohar Lal, Esq., M.A., Bar-at-Law.
1925. Oct., A. C. Woolner, Esq., C.I.E., M.A., F.A.S.B.
1931. March, Rai Bahadur Professor Shiv Ram Kashyap, B.A., M.Sc., I.E.S.
1931. Oct., A. C. Woolner, Esq., C.I.E., M.A., F.A.S.B.

REGISTRARS.

1882. Oct., G. W. Leitner, Esq., M.A., Ph. D., D.O.L.
1883. Dec., E. W. Parker, Esq., *Acting*.
1884. Dec., G. W. Leitner, Esq., M.A., Ph.D., D.O.L.
1885. Nov., C. R. Stülpnagel, Esq., Ph.D., *pro tem*.
1885. Nov., Frederic de Hocheplied Larpent, Esq.
1887. June, W. Bell, Esq., M.A., *Acting*.
1887. Arg., G. Thibaut, Esq., Ph.D.
1887. Nov., W. Bell, Esq., M.A., *Offg*.
1888. Oct., M. A. Stein, Esq., Ph.D.
1890. July, Babu C. N. Mittra, *Offg*.
1890. Oct., M. A. Stein, Esq., Ph.D.
1893. July, Babu C. N. Mittra, *Offg*.
1893. Oct., W. Bell, Esq., M. A., *Offg*.
1894. Jany., M. A. Stein, Esq., Ph.D.
1895. June, Babu C. N. Mittra, *Offg*.
1895. Aug., M. A. Stein, Esq., Ph.D.
1897. April, P. G. Dallinger, Esq., B.A., *Offg*.
1897. Aug., Babu C. N. Mittra, *Offg*.
1897. Oct., M. A. Stein, Esq., Ph.D.
1898. Jany., P. G. Dallinger, Esq., B.A., *Offg*.
1898. Feb., M. A. Stein, Esq., Ph.D.
1898. June, Babu C. N. Mittra, R. B., *Offg*.
1898. Aug., M. A. Stein, Esq., Ph.D.
1899. Jany., Rev. H. C. Velte, M.A., *Offg*.
1899. Feb., M. A. Stein, Esq., Ph.D.
1899. May, Rev. H. C. Velte, M.A., *Offg*.
1899. Nov., A. W. Stratton, Esq., Ph.D.
1902. Aug., Rev. H. C. Velte, M.A., *Offg*.
1902. Nov., W. T. Wright, Esq., *Acting*.
1903. April, A. C. Woolner, Esq., M.A.
1908. April, G. S. Brett, Esq., B.A., *Offg*.
1908. July, P. N. Dutt, Esq., B.A., *Offg*.
1908. Oct., A. C. Woolner, Esq., M.A.
1911. Dec., P. N. Dutt, Esq., B.A., R.S., *Offg*.
1912. Septr., A. C. Woolner, Esq., M.A.
1913. Jany., P. N. Dutt, Esq., B.A., R.S., *Offg*.
1913. Feb., A. C. Woolner, Esq., M.A.
- ✓ 1916. May, P. N. Dutt, Esq., B.A., R.B., *Offg*.
1916. July, A. C. Woolner, Esq., M.A.
1920. Jany., P. N. Dutt, Esq., B.A., R.B., *Offg*.
1920. Oct., A. C. Woolner, Esq., M.A.
1921. Jany., P. N. Dutt, Esq., B.A., R.B.
1933. Jany., Ishwar Das, Esq., M.A., LL.B.

JOINT-REGISTRAR.

1921. Jany. to Dec. 1932. Ishwar Das, Esq., M.A., LL.B.

CONTROLLER OF EXAMINATIONS.

1933. Jany.. S. P. Singha, Esq., M.A., LL.B.

FELLOWS ELECTED BY THE SENATE TO THE LEGISLATIVE COUNCIL OF HIS HONOUR THE LIEUTENANT-GOVERNOR OF THE PANJAB AND ITS DEPENDENCIES.

- 1909. Dec., Shadi Lal, Esq., M.A., B.C.L. (*Oxon.*), R.B., Bar.-at-Law, Lahore, 15th Dec., 1909.
- 1912. Dec., The Hon'ble Mr. Shadi Lal, M.A., B.C.L. (*Oxon.*), R.B., Bar.-at-Law, Lahore. Re-elected 16th Dec., 1912.
- 1913. Aug., The Hon'ble Mr. Shadi Lal, M.A., B.C.L. (*Oxon.*), R.B., Bar.-at-Law, Lahore. Re-elected 16th Aug., 1913.
- 1914. April, Sir P. C. Chatterji, R. B., M.A., D.L., LL.D., C.I.E., Kt., Lahore, 8th April, 1914.
- 1916. April, Fazal-i-Husain, Esq., M.A., Bar.-at-Law, Lahore, 1st May, 1916.

REPRESENTATIVES OF THE PANJAB UNIVERSITY CONSTITUENCY ON THE PROVINCIAL LEGISLATIVE COUNCIL.

- 1921. Jany., Manohar Lal, Esq., M.A., Bar.-at-Law, Lahore.
- 1924. Jany., Ruchi Ram Sahni, Esq., M.A.
- 1927. Jany., The Hon'ble Mr. Manohar Lal, M.A., Bar-at-Law, Minister for Education, Panjab, Lahore.
- 1930. Sept., Manohar Lal, Esq., M.A., Bar-at-Law, Lahore.

APPENDIX VI.

List of persons upon whom Degrees have been conferred under Section 16, Act XIX, 1882, and under Section 17, Act VIII of 1904.

DOCTORS OF ORIENTAL LEARNING.

Gottlieb William Leitner, Esq., LL.D., M.A., Ph.D., Nov. 18th, 1882.

The Most Hon'ble George Frederick Samuel Robinson, Marquis of Ripon, K.G., P.C., G.M.S.I., G.M.I.E., Nov. 15th, 1884.

The Right Hon'ble Sir Frederick Temple Hamilton Temple, Earl of Dufferin and Ava, K.P., G.C.B., G.M.S.I., G.C.M.G., G.M.I.E., D.C.L., F.R.S., Nov. 4th, 1886.

Sir Charles Umpherston Aitchison, K.C.S.I., C.I.E., LL.D., March 30th, 1887.

The Right Reverend Thomas Valpy French, D.D., Bishop of Lahore, Dec. 12th, 1887.

Colonel William Rice Morland Holroyd, B.S.C., Nov. 29th, 1890.

The Hon'ble Sir James Broadwood Lyall, K.C.S.I., Nov. 7th, 1891.

Maulvi Hafiz Nazir Ahmad, K.B., S.U., LL.D., Dec. 2nd, 1910.

The Hon'ble Sir Louis William Dane, G.C.I.E., C.S.I., I.C.S., Dec. 7th, 1912.

The Most Reverend George Alfred Lefroy, M.A., D.D., Bishop of Calcutta and Metropolitan of India, Dec. 23rd, 1913.

Monsieur Alfred Foucher, Professor of Indian Languages and Literature in the University of Paris, Dec. 20th, 1919.

Sir Marc Aurel Stein, K.C.I.E., Ph.D., of the Archaeological Department, Dec. 20th, 1919.

Sir Ramkrishna Gopal Bhandarkar, M.A., K.C.I.E., LL.D., Ph.D., Dec. 19th, 1924.

The Hon'ble Captain Sirdar Sir Sikandar Hyat Khan, K.B.E., Khan Bahadur, Revenue Member to Government, Panjab, Dec. 4th, 1933.

Sardar Bahadur Sir Sundar Singh Majithia, Kt., C.I.E., Dec. 4th, 1933.

DOCTORS OF LITERATURE.

H. R. H. Arthur William Patrick Albert, Duke of Connaught and Strathearn, K.G., K.T., K.P., G.C.S.I., G.C.M.G., C.B., Nov. 4th, 1886.

The Most Hon'ble Henry-Charles-Kelth Petty Fitz-Maurice, Marquis of Lansdowne, G.M.S.I., G.C.M.G., G.M.I.E., Nov. 26th, 1889.

The Right Hon'ble Victor-Alexander Bruce, Earl of Elgin and Kincardine, P.C., LL.D., Lord Bruce of Kinloss and Lord Bruce of Torry, in the Kingdom of Scotland, and Baron Elgin of Elgin, in the United Kingdom, Dec. 1st, 1894.

John Campbell Oman, Esq., Jany. 4th, 1887.

John Sime, Esq., C.I.E., LL.D., Jany. 2nd, 1901.

The Hon'ble Sir William Mackworth Young, M.A., K.C.S.I., C.S., Dec. 21st, 1901.

The Hon'ble Sir Charles Montgomery Rivaz, K.C.S.I., I.C.S., Dec. 21st, 1906.

His Excellency the Right Hon'ble Sir Gilbert John Elliot-Murray-Kynynmond, P.C., G.C.M.G., Earl of Minto, of Roxburgh, Viscount Melgund in the County of Forfar, Baron Minto of Minto, Roxburgh, and a Baronet of Nova Scotia, April 3rd, 1909.

His Excellency the Right Hon'ble Charles, Baron Hardinge of Penshurst, P.C., G.C.B., G.M.S.I., G.C.M.G., G.M.I.E., G.C.V.O., I.S.O., April 1st, 1911.

Revd. James Caruthers Rhea Ewing, M.A., D.D., LL.D., C.I.E., Dec. 23rd, 1916.

His Excellency Sir Edward Douglas MacLagan, M.A., K.C.S.I., K.C.I.E., I.C.S., Dec. 21st, 1923.

The Hon'ble Sir John Maynard, M.A., K.C.I.E., C.S.I., I.C.S., Dec. 18th, 1925.

His Excellency Sir William Malcolm Hailey, B.A., G.C.I.E., K.C.S.I., I.C.S., Dec. 21st, 1928.

A. C. Woolner, Esq., C.I.E., M.A., F.A.S.B., Vice-Chancellor, University of the Panjab, Dec. 4th, 1933.

Dr. Sir Muhammad Iqbal, Kt., M.A., Ph.D., Barrister-at-Law, Dec. 4th, 1933.

DOCTORS OF SCIENCE.

Sir Jagadish Chandra Bose, M.A., Kt., C.S.I., C.I.E., D.Sc., LL.D., F.R.S.

Shiv Ram Kashyap, Esq., B.A., M.Sc., R.B., I.E.S., University Professor of Botany, Dec. 22nd, 1933.

DOCTORS OF LAW.

The Hon'ble Sir William Henry Rattigan, Kt., LL.D., Barrister-at-Law, Jany. 6th, 1896.

The Hon'ble Sir Dennis Fitzpatrick, B.A., Barrister-at-Law, K.C.S.I., C.S., Jany. 4th, 1897.

Sir Charles Arthur Roe, Kt., M.A., Jany. 3rd, 1899.

Sir Charles Lewis Tupper, B.A., K.C.I.E., I.C.S., Dec. 21st, 1907.

Sir P. C. Chatterji, R.B., M.A., B.L., C.I.E., Kt., Dec. 22nd, 1909.

The Hon'ble Mr. Justice Frederick Alexander Robertson, Barrister-at-Law, I.C.S., Dec. 7th, 1912.

His Excellency the Right Hon'ble Frederick John Napier Thesiger, Baron Chelmsford, G.C.M.G., April 13th, 1917.

Lieutenant-General His Highness Maharaja Sir Pratap Singh, Indar Mahindar, Bahadur, Sipar-i-Saltanat, G.C.S.I., G.C.I.E., of Jammu and Kashmir, Dec. 22nd, 1917.

The Hon'ble Sir Michael Francis O'Dwyer, G.C.I.E., K.C.S.I., I.C.S., Dec. 21st, 1918.

His Excellency Sir Geoffrey Fitzhervey de Montmorency, M.A., G.C.I.E., K.C.S.I., K.C.V.O., C.B.E., I.C.S., Jany. 14th, 1933.

The Hon'ble Mian Sir Fazl-i-Husain, K.C.S.I., K.C.I.E., Kt., Khan Bahadur, M.A., Barrister-at-Law, Member of Governor-General's Executive Council, Dec. 4th, 1933.

The Hon'ble Sir Shadi Lal, Kt., Rai Bahadur, M.A., B.C.L. (Oxon.), Chief Justice of the High Court of Judicature at Lahore, Dec. 4th, 1933.

Colonel His Highness Maharaja Sir Hari Singh, Indar Mahindar Bahadur, Sipar-i-Saltanat, G.C.I.E., K.C.V.O., A.D.C., of Jammu and Kashmir.

Lieutenant-General His Highness Maharaja Sir Bhupindar Singh, Mahindar Bahadur, G.C.S.I., G.C.I.E., G.C.V.O., G.B.E., A.D.C., of Patiala.

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